

THE CLASSICAL REVIEW

NEW SERIES VOLUME X NUMBER 1

(Vol. 1 & 2 of the continuous series)

June 1960

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
LONDON NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE

Price 16s. net. Yearly subscription 35s. net, post free. Combined yearly subscription for the CLASSICAL QUARTERLY and the CLASSICAL REVIEW, 60s. net, post free

THE CLASSICAL REVIEW

Editors C. J. FORDYCE, M.A., 3 The University, Glasgow, W. 2
R. M. RATTENBURY, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge

All communications intended for the Editors should be sent to Mr. Fordyce. Books for review should be sent to the Editors, c/o The Clarendon Press, Oxford.

BOARD OF MANAGEMENT

Professor E. H. Warmington, M.A. (Chairman)	} <i>Representing the Council of the Classical Association</i>
Professor R. G. Austin, M.A. (Hon. Treas.)	
F. H. Sandbach, M.A.	
Professor F. W. Walbank, M.A., F.B.A.	
Professor W. S. Watt, M.A. (Hon. Sec.)	
A. G. Woodhead, M.A., representing the Cambridge Philological Society	
M. Platnauer, B.Litt., M.A., representing the Oxford Philological Society	

With the co-operation of

Professor B. D. Meritt, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton,
Professor J. A. FitzHerbert, University of Adelaide, and
Professor Homer A. Thompson, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

New Series

Volume X, No. 2

June 1960

CONTENTS

The Fate of Gessius	C. M. BOWRA	91
Notes on Cicero	E. COURTNEY	95
Neglected Hyperbole in Juvenal	E. L. HARRISON	99
Aeschylus, <i>Agamemnon</i> 22-24	D. S. ROBERTSON	102
Herodotus vi. 72	M. PLATNAUER	102
Callimachus, Hymn vi. 88	K. J. MCKAY	102
A Homeric Parody in Lucian	M. D. MACLEOD	103
Cicero, <i>Philippics</i> ii. 103	R. G. M. NISBET	103
Horace, <i>A.P.</i> 372-3	J. G. GRIFFITHS	104

REVIEWS:

Der homerische Schiffskatalog und die Ilias (Jachmann), D. L. PAGE, 105; *Homer and his Critics* (Myres), J. A. DAVISON, 108; *Parmenide* (Untersteiner), G. B. KERFERD, 111; *Vox Zenonis* (Zafropulo), G. B. KERFERD, 112; *Der Dialog Ion als Zeugnis platonischer Philosophie* (Flashar), H. C. BALDRY, 113; *Therapeia: Plato's Conception of Philosophy* (Cushman), J. R. BAMBROUGH, 115; *Plato* (Friedländer), J. R. BAMBROUGH, 117; *Die Lehre von der Lust in den Ethiken des Aristoteles* (Lieberg), G. B. KERFERD, 118; *Sexti Empirici Opera*, i (Mutschmann-Mau), A. WASSERSTEIN, 120; *Dictionnaire historique de la terminologie géométrique des grecs* (Mugler), I. BULMER-THOMAS, 121; *Notes de lexicographie botanique grecque* (André), D. E. EICHHOLZ, 123; *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (Lesky), H. L. L. HUDSON-WILLIAMS, 124; *Das Original des plautinischen Persa* (Müller), G. W. WILLIAMS, 128; *Ciceronis De Natura Deorum*, ii, iii (Pease), M. L. CLARKE, 130; *Über die klassische Theorie und Praxis des antiken Prosarhythmus* (Schmid), A. E. DOUGLAS, 131; *Patronus und Orator* (Neuhauser), A. E. DOUGLAS, 133; *Ad Pyrrham* (Stoits), L. P. WILKINSON, 134; *Horace's Ninth Epode* (Wistrand), M. L. CLARKE, 136; *Tibull* (Helm), F. H. SANDBACH, 137; *Rabirius: Bellum Actiacum* (Garuti), E. J. KENNEY, 138; *Lucans*

[continued on p. 3 of cover]



**GREEK
LYRIC METRE**

by
George Thomson

Second edition at the press
probably 25s. net

*A photographic reprint of the original edition
(1929) with some corrections and additions*

HEFFER • CAMBRIDGE



The Loeb Classical Library

Edited by

†T. E. PAGE, C.H., LITT.D. †W. H. D. ROUSE, LITT.D.

†E. CAPPS, PH.D., LL.D.

L. A. POST, L.H.D. E. H. WARMINGTON, M.A., F.R.HIST.SOC.

Founded by JAMES LOEB

Each volume Foolscap 8vo, 400-700 pages. Clear type. Cloth, 18s. net

A series of Greek and Latin Texts, with English Translations on the opposite page. The series is to contain all that is best in Greek and Latin Literature, from the time of Homer to the end of the Western Empire.

'We shall never be independent of our Loeb.'—*Times Literary Supplement*.

NEW VOLUMES, 1960

LATIN

416. AUGUSTINE. *City of God*. Seven volumes, Vol. VI. Translated by W. C. Greene.

GREEK

391. ARISTOTLE. *Organon—Posterior Analytics and Topics*. Translated by H. Tredennick and E. S. Forster.
425. PLUTARCH. *Moralia*. Fifteen volumes, Vol. IX. Translated by W. C. Helmbold, E. L. Minar, Jr., and F. H. Sandbach.

William Heinemann, Ltd., Windmill Press, Kingswood, Tadworth, Surrey

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.

EDGAR WIND | Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance

'The philosophy of the Renaissance and its relation to the art of its own day must be studied with new and special methods. In this direction Edgar Wind's book undoubtedly represents a contribution of the greatest importance.'

EUGENIO GARIN, *The Burlington Magazine*

'Difficult, absorbing, and disturbing, a fascinating combination of high scholarship and massive commonsense.'

ERIC JOHN, *The Tablet*

'A tour de force in iconographical method.'

THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

With 50 pages of plates and line drawings. 50/-

Faber and Faber Limited

The Classical Review

NEW SERIES VOLUME X NO. 2

(VOLUME LXXIV OF THE CONTINUOUS SERIES)

June 1960

THE FATE OF GESSIUS

GESSIUS is known to us mainly as the victim of eight more than usually disagreeable epigrams by Palladas (*A.P.* vii. 681-8). There is no good reason to doubt that he is the man with the same name known to Libanius, two of whose letters to him survive (*Epp.* 892 and 1042). A nephew of Apellio and brother-in-law of Gerontius (*Ep.* 1524), he had once been a pupil of Libanius, and in the years 388-92 he won a reputation as a teacher of rhetoric in Egypt (*Epp.* 892 and 1042). He had at some time held office under the emperor (*Ep.* 1149), and this gives weight to the suggestion that he is the same as Flavius Aelius Gessius, who was *praeses* of the Thebaid in 378.¹ He may also be identified with Kesios, with whom Shenoute, abbot of Athribis, near Schäg, came into conflict. Shenoute, who wrote letters, homilies, and apocalypses in Coptic, disapproved of Kesios as an unregenerate Pagan.² These different hints provide a sketch of a man who was well connected, versed both in administration and in letters, and an open adherent of the old religion. Such a man would be prominent enough for his catastrophic fall to excite the malicious interest of Palladas and inspire him to write eight poems on it. Since Libanius's *Ep.* 1042 was written in 392, and after it he neither writes to Gessius nor mentions him to his other correspondents, we may assume that the fall of Gessius came after this date, and probably not long after it.

The eight poems tell a story of which the main lines are clear enough. Gessius, after being encouraged by oracles to believe that he would become consul, left his home, which can only be Egypt, in the confident hope of securing the office, but was struck before he got anything. Yet the poems present difficulties of detail, and it is not easy to extract from them all that they have to yield. Palladas, especially in his more malignant moods, abounds in oblique allusions, plays on words, and double meanings, and since these usually make the main points in his poems, they have to be unravelled before we can get the whole story. We may begin with the oracles, of which there must have been two, since Palladas speaks of *οἱ δύο Κάλχαντες* (vii. 688. 1), and one must have been that of Zeus Ammon, since Palladas makes a strong point of *τὴν Ἀμμωνιακὴν ἀπάτην* (vii 687. 1), which Gessius recognized too late. That the oracle of Ammon was still active after 392 may seem surprising, but it is worth noting that Synesius in *de Somniis* 11, written in 403-4, refers to it as in existence, and though he may be speaking from his own memory, it is not of any distant past. Despite savage legislation against it, divination persisted, as we can see

¹ U. Wilcken, *Archiv f. Papyrusforsch.* i. Leipzig, i. 114, 173; O. Seeck, *R.-E.* vii. 1325.
479; L. Mitteis, *Gr. Urk. d. Papyrussamml.* zu ² J. Leipoldt, *Schenute von Atripe*, p. 180.

from the way in which in 371 high Roman officials tried to find out the name of the next emperor by swinging a magic ring on a table with twenty-four letters. This kind of *planchette* seems to have been modelled on the practice of the Delphic Oracle, since the table itself was made *ad similitudinem cortinae Delphicae* and the adepts expected an answer in hexameters, *quales loquuntur Pythici uel ex oraculis editi Branchidarum* (Ammian. Marc. xxix. 1. 29 ff.). This was of course a private *séance*, but there is no insuperable difficulty in Gessius's consulting the oracle of Ammon, since such consultation was traditional in his class and shrines would somehow find means to supply its needs.

The second 'Calchas' is more obscure. We might think that a hint about it is contained in a couplet about Gessius attributed to Palladas:

καφὸν ἀναδὸν ὀρῶν τὸν Γέσσιον, εἰ λίθος ἐστὶ,
Δήλιε, μαντεύου τίς τίνος ἐστὶ λίθος. (xvi. 317)

This might be taken to mean that the other oracle was that of the Delian Apollo, but even if the lines are by Palladas, and this has been seriously doubted by Franke, Peek, and Beckby, the single word *μαντεύου* is not enough to establish a reference to an oracle, since it may well be metaphorical in the sense of 'reveal', and anyhow it is difficult to connect the couplet with Gessius's action in consulting it, since it contains no hint of this. The second 'Calchas' need not have been an oracle in the strict sense, and we may find a clue to its nature in vii. 687. 4, where among the factors blamed by Gessius for his disaster is

καὶ τοὺς πειθομένους ἀστρολόγοις ἀλόγοις,

and there is a suggestion of the same kind in vii. 683. 6:

βουληθέντα μαθεῖν ἀστροθέτους κανόνας,

where the goal of Gessius's ambitions is placed in the stars, partly at least because that is where the promise of it has originated. Astrology, though menaced as heavily as divination with penalties, survived more easily, no doubt because it was conducted in private and needed no shrine or oracular apparatus. It is significant that two astrological works come from Egypt in Palladas's lifetime. That of Paul of Alexandria, called *εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν ἀποτελεσματικὴν*, carries the date of 378,¹ and the four books of Hephæstion of Thebes, *περὶ καταρχῶν*, were composed about 381.² If we press the meaning of Palladas's reference to astrologers, we may conclude that they gave Gessius a forecast like that given by Zeus Ammon, and that, encouraged by other men who believed it, he did so himself, to his own fatal cost.

Despite theories to the contrary,³ there can be little doubt that the oracle and the astrologers told Gessius that he would become consul. This is the only possible meaning for vii. 688. 2 *τῶν μεγάλων ὑπάτων θῶκον ὑποσχόμενοι*, and it suits very well 684. 2 *ἀρχὴν μεγάλην*. Nor is it unlikely that Gessius, who was a man of experience and consequence, should seek such an office. That he wished to get it is clear from vii. 685. 1 *ζητῶν*, and he evidently left Egypt in the confidence that he would succeed (*ibid.*). The obvious place for him to go in normal times would be Constantinople, but the times were abnormal, and we must not rule out the possibility that, when Eugenius and Arbogastes were disputing the supremacy of Theodosius, a candidate for the consulship might have to go elsewhere to win the consent of the emperor or his rival. Wherever it was

¹ R. Riess, *R.-E.* ii. 1927.

² A. Engelbrecht, *Hephæstion von Theben*, p. 23.

³ Waltz, *ad loc.*

that Gessius went, he found there his death. This is explicitly stated at vii. 681. 1 *τελευτῆς*, 682. 1 *τέθνηκεν*, and 686. 6 *θάνατον*. It is impossible to think that these references can mean exile¹ or anything but actual death, and it is this which strikes Palladas so forcibly and supplies the main motive of his poems.

The poems throw out puzzling hints about the manner of this death. It certainly seems to have been violent, since at vii. 681. 3-4 Palladas makes characteristic verbal play between *ἐκ προκοπῆς*, which is Gessius' desire to better his position, and *ἐξεκόπη* *βιότου*, which can only mean that he came to a violent end. This is confirmed by the line which describes his appearance on arriving in Hades, vii. 686. 4, *γυμνός, ἀκήδεστος, σχήματι καινοτάφῳ*. He has plainly arrived without the usual rites 'in a new kind of funeral', and this suggests that he has been executed as a criminal and been denied even such attentions as criminals normally were allowed after death. To this vii. 683. 8 may be relevant, *οὐδὲ χεσεῖν εὐτονον ἦτορ ἔχων*. There is a play between *χεσεῖν* and *Γέσσιος*, and such a joke *de stercore*, coming at the end of a poem, must have a special point, which may be that Gessius was starved before he met his end, and this implies that his whole treatment was more than usually harsh. It is almost inevitable to conclude that, as Seeck suggested, Gessius was executed.²

We may pursue this point and ask what form the execution took, and there is some case for thinking that it was crucifixion. First, in vii. 684. 3-4 we hear that Gessius *κατηρέχθη* . . . *ἐπαρθείς*. Of course *ἐπαρθείς* may refer in the first place to the heady ambitions which carried him away, but it is like Palladas to give a double meaning to such a word, and when he says that Gessius was 'lifted up', especially after saying that he was 'brought down', it looks as if Gessius was raised on a cross after the collapse of his ambitions. Secondly, in vii. 685. 3-4 Gessius's end is presented in allusive and mysterious words:

ἀλλ' ἐτυχες τιμῆς, ὦ Γέσσιε, καὶ μετὰ μοῖραν
σύμβολα τῆς ἀρχῆς ὕστατα δεξάμενος.

Here we may suspect another of Palladas's cruel jokes. *μετὰ μοῖραν* means not that Gessius is dead but that he is doomed. When his doom is fixed, he receives the emblems of rule at the end of his life. But what are these *σύμβολα*, and how does he receive them? A possible solution is that they are the cross on which he is crucified, since the cross, embodied in the *labarum*, had been the emblem of Christian emperors since Constantine and was used by Theodosius on his coins (Cohen vii.³ 157. 28 ff.; 158. 31; 159. 39 ff.). Such an interpretation suits the double use of *τέλος* in the preceding two lines, where it is the 'end' both as what Gessius seeks in office and what he actually gets in death. The calculated ambiguity in it is followed by another in *σύμβολα*. Thirdly, Gessius was evidently lame, and Palladas makes use of this to make not a very nice point about his hasty passage to death in vii. 681. 2 *καὶ χαλὸς περ εὖν ἔδραμες εἰς Αἶδην*, but in 686. 2, when Gessius is already dead and arrives in Hades, he is said to be *χωλεύοντα πλέον*, and there must be a special point in *πλέον*. If Gessius had been crucified with nails driven through his feet or had his legs broken, the point would be relevant and easily intelligible to those who knew what had happened. These considerations do not amount to proof that Gessius was crucified, but they are consistent with it and make it at least likely.

That Gessius should be crucified need cause no surprise, and in general there is a strong argument for it. He had consulted oracles, and not only was this

¹ H. Beckby, *Anth. Pal.* ii. 598.

² R.-E. vii. 1325.

forbidden by law since the time of Constantius (*Cod. Theod.* viii. 16. 4), but the law had recently been re-enacted in vigorous terms and the punishment specified and strengthened. In 390 Theodosius delivered through Cynegius, his special commissioner in the East for the inhibition of Pagan worship, the following law:

ne quis mortalium ita faciendi sacrificii sumat audaciam ut inspectione iecoris extorumque praesagio uanae spem promissionis accipiat uel, quod est deterius, futura sub execrabili consultatione cognoscat. acerbioris etenim imminet supplicii cruciatus eis qui contra uetitum praesentium uel futurarum rerum explorare temptauerint ueritatem (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 10. 9).

Moreover, in the years immediately after 392, when we may presume that Gessius met his doom, divination had assumed an even more dangerous significance than Theodosius envisaged in his law. For it and related practices had been revived by his opponents, Eugenius and Arbogastes. When Eugenius was at Milan in 393, he consulted burnt offerings about the prospects of victory over Theodosius (*Rufin.* ii. 3; *Sozom.* vii. 22), and welcomed an ancient prophecy that in 394 Christianity would be defeated (*Augustin. de Civ. Dei* xviii. 53). It is true that Theodosius countered in almost the same coin by getting a prophecy of success from a holy monk (*Augustin. l.c.*; *Rufin.* ii. 32; *Claud. in Eutrop.* i. 312; *Sozom.* vii. 22; *Pallad. Hist. Laus.* 43. 46), but of course by his standards this was a very different thing. The war between Theodosius and Eugenius was fought largely on the issue between Christianity and Paganism, and divination, which had already been condemned as being impious, now had the additional stigma of being treasonable. The law would not be likely to be waived for a public figure like Gessius who so openly defied it in a time of civil war. This may mean that not only was Gessius crucified, but before it he was harshly treated, and that is why in vii. 686 he arrives in Hades in so sorry a state.

Yet though this theory accounts for the end of Gessius and may be right so far as it goes, it leaves one or two relevant matters unexplained. We do not know in what circumstances Gessius sought to become consul or how he set about it. He was a confessed Pagan, and it might seem odd that in a time of almost religious war he should aim at getting high office under a biased Christian emperor. Palladas suggests that his behaviour was dangerously hasty, vii. 681. 3, *Μοιράων τροχαλώτερε*, and that he went faster than his fate, 682. 2, *αὐτὸς τὴν Μοῖραν προὔλαβεν εἰς Αἴδην*. This would not be the normal way of seeking the consulship, and it implies peculiar circumstances which called for haste. A possible solution to these questions is that Gessius hoped to be consul not with Theodosius but with Eugenius. This would be consistent with his known Paganism and account for his hurry in a time when vast issues might be decided at any moment. It would also provide a more precise point in vii. 681. 1 *ἀπεδήμησας* and 687. 2 *τοῦ ξενικοῦ θανάτου*, for though the death of an Alexandrian in Constantinople might be regarded as *ξενικός*, the emphasis on travel and on death in a foreign land would be more appropriate if it referred to Italy, where Eugenius conducted his operations and met his final defeat. It looks as if Gessius made an attempt to get office under Eugenius, but found himself on the losing side and paid heavily for it. We might be better informed on this if we only knew something about Baucalus, who in vii. 686 welcomes Gessius in Hades. He has evidently died before him and suffered less, and we may suspect that he is a fellow conspirator. Gessius's consultation of oracles

would be enough to earn him a death-sentence, but if he was also a traitor, the penalty would be inflicted with additional refinements by Theodosius. We do not know why Palladas rejoiced so savagely in his fall, but Palladas had no love for those who sought or held power. He would certainly feel no compunction because Gessius was a Pagan. He had no more love for Pagans than for Christians, and though by upbringing and profession he ranked on the Pagan side, he felt no affection for it and believed that it was doomed. The fate of Gessius was only another testimony that he was right.

Wadham College, Oxford

C. M. BOWRA

NOTES ON CICERO¹

THOUGH no one now accepts the opinion of Markland and Wolf that the speeches *Post Reditum in Senatu*, *Post Reditum ad Quirites*, *De Domo*, *De Haruspicum Responso* are not by Cicero, and the reaction started early, yet the prosecution's case seems to have cast a shadow over them, and with the exception of the *De Domo* they have hardly been treated by Cicero's editors with the same care as the rest of his works. One consequence is that objections to some manuscript readings have been too easily swallowed. An example is *Quir. 1 ut quod odium scelerati homines . . . conceptum iam diu continerent, id in me uno potius quam in optimo quoque et universa civitate deficeret* (cf. Curtius iv. 4. 17 *duo milia in quibus occidendis defecerat rabies crucibus adfixi*). Cicero wants their hatred to be exhausted before they have finished with himself, and although the verb does not suit the *quam*-clause, the Zeugma is of a common enough type; an apt example is quoted by Kühner-Stegmann ii. 566, Sallust *Hist. fr. inc. 9M ap. schol. Stat. Th. x. 573 ut res magis quam verba agerentur, v.l. gererentur*. Another result is that several worthy conjectures are threatened with oblivion; *Sen. 14 elingue* Ernesti (I do not find E. Lindholm, *Stilistische Studien zur Erweiterung der Satzglieder im Lateinischen*, 147, convincing); *Quir. 8 fortunam, <nam>* Halm. Some cases deserve more detailed examination.

Sen. 23 Non est mei temporis iniurias meminisse quas ego etiam si ulcisci possem tamen oblivisci mallet; alio transferenda mea tota vita est, ut bene de me meritis referam gratiam, amicitias igni perspectas tuear, cum apertis hostibus bellum geram, timidis amicis ignoscam, proditores non indicem, dolorem profectionis meae reditus dignitate consoler.

Non indicem has provoked the following conjectures; *indicem* Peterson, *non vindicem* Hotmann, *vindicem* Madvig, *convincam* Müller. Those involving *vindicare* should disappear from the apparatus. Housman *C.R.* xiv (1900) 467a says 'I do not know, and the lexicons do not say, what authority there is for the construction *vindico impiam* in the sense of *vindico in impiam* or *vindico impietatem*'. The best I can produce is *In Verr. 2. ii. 28 si in hominibus eligendis nos spes amicitiae fefellerit, ut vindicemus, missos faciamus . . .*, where the direct object does not need to be rigidly personal, and *In Cat. 1. 19 quem ad custodiendum te diligentissimum et ad suspicandum sagacissimum et ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putasti*, where the same

¹ I wish to express my thanks to Mr. S. Weinstock for reading part of this article, and particularly to Mr. R. G. M. Nisbet for generous help and criticism; neither is responsible for the final version.

applies. Nor is the rare use of *vindex* with a genitive adequate justification (for this Housman on Manilius v. 140 quotes Val. Max. vi. 3. 8 *sontium vindices*).

The manuscript reading will probably stand. In the post-exile speeches *proditores* is generally applied to Piso and Gabinius, but it has a wider sense in *Quir.* 13; *ibid.* 21 he speaks of those 'qui per simulationem amicitiae nefarie me prodiderunt', and says of them, 'ulciscar perfidos amicos nihil credendo atque omnia cavendo'. His purpose here is to anticipate the fears of those of whom he says (*Ad Q.F.* i. 3. 5) 'cum amici partim deseruerint me, partim etiam prodiderint, qui in meo reditu fortasse reprehensionem sui sceleris pertimescunt'. He probably means especially Hortensius, whose advice to leave Rome he continually in the letters attributes to bad faith; *Ad Att.* iii. 8. 4 *cuius scelere impulsus ac proditus sumus*, iii. 19. 3 *proditum a meis consiliariis* surely refer to him. It is perhaps odd to find a negative member among the positive ones, but this offence is lessened when it is realized how easily the negative takes the positive meaning 'refrain from pillorying'; examples with *nullus* are collected by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana*, 268-9, on i. 2. 14, and by Nägelsbach, *Stilistik*¹, 99-100.

Har. Resp. 7 *hesterno die cum mihi stanti tacens minaretur, voce tantum attigi legum initium et iudici. consedit ille; conticui.*

Modern editors print this without any qualms. They must take *consedit* to mean 'subsided', which may be possible in itself (*Virg. Aen.* xi. 350 *totamque videmus / consedis se urbem luctu*), but is not so here after *stanti*. Older editors were aware of a difficulty (partly caused to them by the reading *conticui*); Naugerius read *concidit ille*, Graevius *tacenti stans* (for the corruption cf. Housman on Manilius v. 172; *C.Q.* iii [1909], 248¹). The decision must rest on our conception of what was happening at the time, and from Cicero's allusive account in 1-2 above it is impossible to clarify this. Something similar is recorded in *Ad Att.* i. 16. 8-10 *Clodium* (then quaestor) *fregi in senatu cum oratione perpetua tum altercatione*; then a summary of his speech; *surgit pulchellus puer*; an account of the altercation (cf. *Har. Resp.* 17); *conticuit et concidit*. The course of events then might have been: *Clodius aedilis interrogat publicanos*; Cicero *sententiam dicit (stanti)*; cf. *Pro Marcello* 33 *non est omnibus stantibus necesse dicere*; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, iii. 937 n. 1); altercation; *pergit Cicero*; *gestu et vultu minatur Clodius*; Cicero *iudici mentionem facit*; e *senatu erumpit Clodius*; *perorat Cicero*. Then, with *concidit, conticui* will mean 'I dropped that subject'; cf. Servius on *Aen.* ii. 287 *ille nihil] scilicet ad interrogata: pleraque enim verba ex negotiis accipiunt significationem*. But Graevius's emendation involves fewer hypotheses.

I wish now to consider some points which have not been raised previously. *Sen.* 33 *cum viderem . . . servos simulatione collegiorum nominatim esse conscriptos*.

What is the point of *nominatim*? It could only be that Clodius was so shameless in enrolling his henchmen that he did not try to conceal the presence of slaves in his lists. But why should he? I agree with those who think that the *collegia* involved were *collegia compitalicia* (so the best treatment which I know, S. Accame, *Bullettino del Museo del Impero Romano*, xiii [1942], 13 sqq.), an opinion strongly supported by *In Pis.* 8-9 and Asconius; the connexion of the

¹ See also *Trans. Cambr. Phil. Soc.* iii. 145.

Compitalia with slaves is well known (Dion. Hal. *A.R.* iv. 14). The Compitalia presuppose an organization by *vici* (cf., e.g., Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*², 171), which Cicero in fact stresses, *Har. Resp.* 22, *De Domo* 54 and 129, *Pro Sest.* 34, *Ad Att.* iv. 3. 2. The last three passages suggest that we should read *vicatim* here. In minuscules generally and Insular script (the archetype of our manuscripts is known to have had the Insular sign for *enim*) this differs little from *nōatim* or *nōiatim*, and *nominatim*, as Mr. Nisbet points out, would be in the scribe's mind from its occurrence in 31 and 32.

The validity of this emendation is not affected if these were not *collegia compitalicia*; for the presence of slaves in other *collegia* cf. J. P. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains*, iv. 252-4 (ibid. 251-2 and i. 346-7 do not seem cogent); *R.-E.* suppl. vi. 982-3; Buckland, *Roman Law of Slavery*, 74-75.

Har. Resp. 8 De religionibus sacris et caerimoniis est contionatus, patres conscripti, Clodius; Publius, inquam, Clodius sacra et religiones neglegi violari polui questus est.

Mommsen, who proposed (in Baiter's apparatus) to read *de religionibus et sacris caerimoniis*, seems to have objected to the phrase *religiones sacrae*. Though the only example which I have found is in Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.* iv. 31 (a passage admittedly influenced by this speech),¹ it does not seem to me intrinsically objectionable. But throughout this passage we find *religiones et sacra*, and in *De Domo* 33, 109, *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 5 *religiones sacra caerimoniae*. Apart from anything else, as Mr. Nisbet remarks, the rhetorical form of the sentence with the figure *πλοκῆ* (it is chosen as an example by R. Volkmann, *Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer*³ [1885], 472) demands that *sacra* should be a noun in the second clause. Therefore *et* after *sacris* should be deleted.

Har. Resp. 29 Sed ut ad haec haruspicum responsa redeam, ex quibus est primum de ludis, quis est qui id non totum in istius ludos praedictum et responsum esse fateatur?

Much stress has been laid on the difficulty of *praedictum*, since the *responsum* (here meaning one clause of the collective *responsum*, as in 34) did not precede but followed the *ludi*. It seems obvious to alter to *praedicatum*. One should also bear in mind that in 18 not only do the manuscripts read '(maiores nostri) fatorum veteres praedicationes Apollinis vatum libris . . . contineri putaverunt', but Valerius Maximus i. 1. 1 apparently had the same, 'Apollinis praedicatione(s) (so much the strongest authority) vatum libris'.

Finally, two notes for the historian. *Har. Resp.* 26 shows that Clodius was one of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*; this is not recorded by C. Bardt, *Die Priester der vier grossen Collegien aus römisch-republikanischer Zeit*, 30-31, by M. Brissaud, *Le Culte chez les Romains*, ii. 104, by Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination*, iv. 374, or by Broughton, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic*.³

¹ Since I have diverged into patristic regions, I take the occasion to add a testimony; the phrase *curiosos oculos* in Lactant. *Inst.* iii. 20. 2, in connexion with Clodius, is due to *Har. Resp.* 37 (Brandt notes the relationship of the passages). The quotations of *Qsiv.* 4, *Har. Resp.* 39 by Vincent of Beauvais, on which cf. Ullman, *C.P.* xxvii

(1932) 32, are of no practical importance.

² I hope it will not be ascribed to ingratitude if I take the opportunity of pointing out another error of omission in this work. The Berne scholia on Lucan ii. 125 have: 'Marius Celium tr. pl. Sillanum de Tarpeio saxo praecipitavit. Sex. Lucilius anni superioris tr. pl. . . .' This seems to have been

Har. Resp. 31 Putant ad me non nulli pertinere magmentarium Telluris aperire. nuper id patuisse dicunt, et ego recordeo. nunc sanctissimam partem ac sedem maximae religionis privato dicunt vestibulo contineri. multa me movent; quod aedes Telluris est curationis meae, quod is qui illud magmentarium sustulit mea domo pontificum iudicio liberata secundum fratrem suum iudicatum esse dicebat.

This passage is another where the allusions are obscure to us, and the only full discussion which I know is that of Mr. S. Weinstock in *R.-E.* s.v. *Terra Mater* 805. This (slightly abbreviated) is as follows.

'This passage is correctly referred to the house of Q. Cicero in *Carinis* (*Ad Q.F.* ii. 3. 7), which M. Cicero in 54 restored together with the temple of Tellus and expanded at the expense of the latter (*Ad Q.F.* iii. 1. 14); cf. Gilbert, *Gesch. und Topogr. d. Stadt Rom*, iii. 356, Hülsen-Jordan, *Topogr.* i. 3. 324. *Magmentarium* was convincingly restored by Mommsen¹ for the manuscript reading *acmentarium* (older editions had *augmentarium*); cf. Varro *L.L.* v. 112 *magmentaria fana constituta locis certis quo id (magmentum) imponeretur*. This *magmentarium* then was a storehouse for extra meat from sacrifices² and presumably also for other sacral apparatus. It was profaned by being opened and by the building of a vestibule on to it. The repeated reference to the opening in spite of the rhetorical colouring leaves no doubt of the great antiquity of this construction and recalls the *penus Vestae*, to which only the Vestals and the *pontifex maximus* had entry, and where similarly sacrificial equipment was kept. The opening of this *penus* was a ceremonial occasion; Fest. 250 *penus . . . qui certis diebus aperitur*, calendar of Philocalus, 7 June, *Vesta aperit*.³ Other topographers besides those quoted take the same view, e.g. O. Richter, *Topogr. d. Stadt Rom*² (in Müller's *Handbuch*), 324, Platner-Ashby, *Dictionary* 511. For many reasons I think it must be rejected.

In the first place, it quite fails to explain the reference to Appius Claudius (cf. *Ad Att.* iv. 2. 3), by which Mr. Weinstock admits himself puzzled. Secondly, the terms *recordeo* and in the passage following my quotation *vetera, antiqua* seem to indicate that whatever happened to the shrine, it had not taken place recently. Thirdly, *ad me pertinere magmentarium aperire* has to be translated 'it touches me, is due to me that the shrine is being opened'; would this not have to be *quod magmentarium aperitur* (or, possibly, *aperit*)? It would require strong evidence to overthrow the translation 'it is my duty to open the shrine'. Fourthly, *Ad Q.F.* ii. 3. 7 shows that the house on the Carinae was let out in February 56 and apparently in perfect condition; some of the references to repairs of Quintus' house in the letters of this period specifically refer to that on the Palatine, damaged in October 57 (*Ad Att.* iv. 3. 2), and there is no reason why all of them, including *Ad Q.F.* iii. 1. 14, should not mean this; so Münzer, *R.-E.* vii A 1294, Drumann-Groebe, vi. 648-9. Fifthly, the antithesis between *nuper patuisse* and *nunc privato vestibulo contineri* shows that *aperire* does not mean 'open' at all, but 'disclose, open up the approaches to' by clearing away what

completely overlooked by the reference books (Drumann-Groebe, M. Ziegler, Niccolini, *R.-E.*, Broughton) not only as confirming the disputed name Lucilius, but also as giving a tribune Caelius or Coelius not mentioned elsewhere. This scholium contradicts Dio Cass. fr. 102. 12 Boiss. *ὁ νόμος*

Μαρίου . . . ἄλλον (δήμαρχον: clearly the well-known Lucilius) ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατεκρήμυσεν, ὅπερ οὐδὲς ἄλλος ἐπέπονθε.

¹ In Baier's apparatus.

² *Magmenta* are a kind of *exta*.

³ This instance of intransitive *aperire* should be added to *Thes. L.L.* ii. 216. 21-22.

now surrounds it; 'sublato privato vestibulo' is Manutius's laconic note. Finally, how could Cicero defend himself and his brother on the same charge which he proceeds to make against others with the plea that it happened a long time ago?

Cicero then is here on the offensive, and this alone suits the context, which is too long to quote. It is Appius Claudius who has incorporated the shrine into his house, and Cicero is connected with the business solely because the temple is under his *curatio*; the house of Quintus has nothing to do with it. Long after I had inferred this, I discovered *Ad Fam.* viii. 12. 3, where Caelius, prosecuting his quarrel with Appius Claudius in 50 B.C., remarks 'praeterea coepi sacellum in domo quod est ab eo petere'. Varro, *R.R.* iii. 2. 5 (dramatic date 54 B.C.) gives him a house in the Campus Martius, but there is no reason why he should not have had two, like Q. Cicero.

One may translate 'Some think it my duty to remove the obstructions from round the shrine. They say that not long ago it stood in the open.'

I should add two points. In the absence of more evidence one cannot safely identify the *Argiletanum aedificium* of *Ad Att.* i. 14. 7 (61 B.C.) with Quintus' house on the Carinae, as Gilbert, iii. 354 (-5) n. 3, does. Secondly, there is no ground for referring to the temple of Tellus the allusions in 58 below (*vestris monumentis suum nomen inscripsit*), *Ad Fam.* i. 9. 5 and 15, *Ad Q.F.* ii. 8 (Sjögren), 2.

There is one problem in these speeches about which I cannot come to any firm conclusion, but to which I should like to draw attention. I have not been able to get any clear picture of what is happening in *Har. Resp.* 22-26 and therefore I am left in perplexity about the meaning of *scaena*. Ritschl, *Parerga Plautina*, xix-xx, saw the difficulty but cleared it away by accepting the theory of spuriousness, and no subsequent book on theatrical antiquities, so far as I can discover, has taken account of it from a fresh viewpoint; nor is it discussed, for example, by A. Müller, *Philol.* suppl. vii. Perhaps some student of the Roman stage can solve this.

King's College, London

E. COURTNEY

NEGLECTED HYPERBOLE IN JUVENAL

It is no doubt legitimate for the commentator and the lexicographer to follow the example of the scholiast in their treatment of ancient poetry, and to point out on occasions the prosaic reality that lies behind its imagery. But if the translator's work is to retain some of the freshness and vitality of the original, he must surely avoid such temptations, and give us, in so far as his own language allows, what the poet says rather than a collection of glosses on his text. This applies especially, perhaps, to the translation of satire: for an important feature of this genre is hyperbole, and, in particular, the exaggerating metaphor, and if the translator (unduly influenced, it may be, by commentaries and dictionaries) is content to tone down the satirist's language and neutralize its imagery, he thereby robs the poet of one of the more useful weapons in his armoury.

A simple illustration of the point is provided by Juvenal 3. 254 f., where the poet uses the word *mons* to denote a block of stone that topples from its dray in a crowded Roman street and crushes the unfortunate wretches who happen to be alongside. Here Lewis and Short's entry is: 'transf., a mountain, i.e. a (heaped up, towering) mass, a heap, a quantity'; and the scholiast comments

'mons: saxum immane'. Now in their context remarks such as these are of course valid, as elucidations of the hyperbole: but they only explain it; they do not, and should not be allowed to, remove it. For if this happens we lose a significant element in the poet's treatment of the incident. By using this hyperbole Juvenal both emphasizes the utter helplessness of the victims in the face of the disaster that overwhelms them, and exposes the criminal obtuseness that makes such accidents possible: for people have no business to be moving mountains down a Roman street. But if we turn to three modern representative translations we find that the hyperbole is either toned down to the scholiast's level, or else simply ignored. Thus the Budé translation (Labriolle and Villeneuve, 1950) has 'cette masse', the Loeb (Ramsay, 1918) 'contents', and Knoche (1951) 'Stein'.

In two other places, it seems to me, this kind of treatment by translators is liable to obscure our understanding of Juvenal's text rather more seriously. In the passages concerned we hear the frustrated cry of the pedestrian, who (before the days of public transport) is compelled, however hot the day, and however dusty the road, to go everywhere on foot, while his wealthy neighbour speeds past him, high and mighty in his litter. In Juvenal's case the pent-up resentment finds an outlet in two remarkably vivid images, each in its own way exaggerating those features of the rich man's litter which irritate him most: yet translators generally make no attempt to reproduce them, and an interesting sidelight on Juvenal's outlook is thereby lost.

The first passage (4. 20 f.) again is straightforward enough. Crispinus' grand lady rides along 'cluso latis specularibus antro': her litter is so preposterously spacious and so enviably cool that the poet visualizes it as a portable cave fitted out with doors and windows. This brilliant sally tends to vanish without trace in translation: thus we read simply 'close, broad-windowed litter' (Ramsay), 'une ample litière fermée' (Labriolle and Villeneuve), and 'geschlossener Sänfte' (Knoche). One can only presume that in such cases the scholiast's remark here (*antro: lecticam mulieris aut sellam clausam*) has been interpreted as a general definition of *antrum* ('a woman's litter or a covered chair'). But the non-recurrence of the word in either sense anywhere else is particularly suspicious, since the objects in question are both mentioned often enough in Latin literature: and there is perhaps something a little odd about a definition that involves two quite different alternatives in this way. Clearly, as several commentators have seen,¹ the metaphor is not a dead one involving a term in everyday language, but the poet's own creation: and the scholiast's remark is simply a clarification of this one occurrence.²

The second passage involves an alternative reading and calls for slightly more detailed discussion. Here (3. 239 f.) a description of the sad lot of the poor man who cannot sleep in his bed at night is followed by a picture of the rich man, who, if he so pleases, can even sleep in his litter during the day while on his social round:

si vocat officium, turba cedente vehetur
dives et ingenti curret super ora Liburna
atque obiter leget aut scribet vel dormiet intus.

¹ Although some (e.g. Ruperti, Pearson and Strong, Mayor) seem content simply to equate *antrum* with 'litter'.

² Hence of course the alternatives: he does

not pretend to know what type of conveyance the lady actually uses. (For convenience I have assumed a litter is involved, in view of the emphasis on its spaciousness.)

At l. 240 *Liburno* appears in some manuscripts, and as a correction in P; and both readings were known to the scholiast. Editors in the past have been divided between the two, in some cases vacillating. Pearson and Strong, for example, printed *Liburna* in their first edition (1887), but *Liburno* in their second (1892); and Friedlander (1895) printed *Liburna*, but conceded the possibility of *Liburno* in his commentary. *Liburno* presents no real difficulty: 'the rich man will then speed along 'thanks to his huge Liburnian carrier'; and there were plenty of beefy Liburnians doing work of that sort in the Rome of Juvenal's day. But closer inspection of the text reveals, I believe, that more recent scholars have been right to prefer *Liburna*, although on this occasion translators and commentators² alike tend to miss the point of the language Juvenal here employs. It is usual to understand *lectica* with *Liburna* (cf. Mayor's 'a peculiar kind of litter') so that in translation it becomes 'litière liburnienne' (Labriolle and Villeneuve), 'Liburnian car' (Ramsay), or even simply 'Sänfte' (Knoche). And again this is presumably inspired by the scholiast's comment: '*Liburna: lectica Liburnata*'. But though one may grant that here the remark is indeed meant as a definition, *Liburnata* has about it an air of oracular obscurity that smacks of guesswork. (This is reflected in modern conclusions based on it. Some, such as Mayor, consider that the litter gets its name from the slave who carries it: others, such as Friedlander, that it is due to its resemblance in shape to a Liburnian ship.) Moreover, here again we have a supposed type-name for a litter that occurs nowhere else: *Liburna* sc. *navis* is common and familiar, *Liburna* sc. *lectica* is unexampled.

The solution, it seems to me, is similar to that of 4. 21. In these two places Juvenal does not employ stock terms for litters strangely absent everywhere else, but rather describes them in bold and original metaphors; and it is precisely because they are so bold and original that parallels are lacking anywhere else. We have seen how this applied in the case of *antrum*: and Juvenal's use of *Liburna* here is no less appropriate.

In these lines Juvenal is developing an antithesis between the rich man (239 f.), who without the slightest effort on his part can get ahead at a most annoying speed, and Umbricius (243 f.), who has to struggle hard to make even the slowest progress in the crowded streets of Rome. The rich man's litter is therefore now seen as a swift galley that leaves other more ponderous vessels behind in its wake: for that is the normal meaning of *Liburna* (or *Liburnica*).³ It was an essentially speedy type of vessel modelled on the pirate ships of the Liburni; and since it had by now become the mainstay of the Roman navy,⁴ the allusion would not be so easily lost on Juvenal's public as it tends to be on ourselves.

One might add, finally, that the actual context lends itself well to this interpretation. Juvenal may have been (unconsciously?) affected by the last image in his mind, which came from the sea (*vitulis marinis*, 238). *Vehi* and *currere* are both nautical enough to suit the rich man's passage over a sea of faces. And when he has sailed on, Umbricius gets his backwash (*nobis properantibus obstat unda prior*, 243-4).

University of Leeds

E. L. HARRISON

¹ For the ablative cf. Hardie on Sat. i. 17 and a useful note by T. Maguire, *Journal of Philology* iii. (1871) 232 f.

² Pearson and Strong were right in the commentary of their first edition, but in their

second changed over to the general interpretation of *Liburna*.

³ Cf. Torr, *Ancient Ships* (1895), 16 f.

⁴ Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, x. 236 f.

AESCHYLUS, *AGAMEMNON* 22-24

ὦ χαῖρε λαμπτήρ νυκτὸς ἡμερήσιον
φῶς πιφαύσκων καὶ χορῶν κατάστασιν
πολλῶν ἐν Ἄργει τῆσδε συμφορᾶς χάριν.

THESE lines have been much discussed, but on one central point all scholars are agreed. All assume that the φῶς of l. 23 is that directly emitted by the beacon just seen by the watchman. The awkwardness of φῶς in this sense as a parallel to χορῶν κατάστασιν is clearly shown in Fraenkel's translation: 'O hail, thou light-giver, that showest a light of day by night and (the signal for) the setting up of many a dancing choir in Argos for this event.' Similarly Page writes 'πιφαύσκων with φῶς, "making manifest . . ."; with χορῶν κατάστασιν "giving the signal for" . . .': he quotes Aeschylean parallels for both meanings.

I suggest that in fact πιφαύσκων has the same meaning in both cases, and that in

νυκτὸς ἡμερήσιον φῶς (I print a comma after λαμπτήρ), the watchman speaks of the bonfires or torchlight, φέγγος λαμπάδων σελασφόρων, which, like the dances, will be seen in Argos so soon as the citizens learn of Troy's fall. Despite the splendours imagined by Clytemnestra in ll. 281 ff., this vision of daylight brilliance in the night is less strained if the words refer to the celebrations which will make 'Luds-Towne with rejoicing-fires bright', rather than to the beacon on the distant Arachnaean peak, unobserved in Argos except by the one man long warned to expect it. It is natural that the first picture suggested to the watchman by the beacon and its message should be the brighter light which will soon illuminate Argos.

D. S. ROBERTSON

Trinity College, Cambridge

HERODOTUS 6. 72

IN Herodotus' account of the fortunes of Leontychides we find the curious phrase ἐπικαθήμενος χειρὶ πλὴν ἀργυρίου. The manuscripts give ἐπικ. χειρὶ διπλῇ, which is nonsensical. The emendation is due to Wesseling and is to be found in every modern edition. L.S.J. give the reference s.v. *χείρις* and cite the words; they add 'On the accent v. Hdn. 2. 437'. Follow their advice and you will find (at the end of a short article on substantives ending in -ις: *ῥις* and the like) *πρόσκειται 'βαρύνοντα' διὰ τὸ χειρὶς, χειρίδος*. At least one thing can be deduced from this note—that Herodian regarded the iota as long. The article in L.S.J. gives eight references for the word *χείρις* in authors from Homer to Oribasius, and all¹ agree in taking the word as *χείρις*, -ιδος.

The question then arises—(a) is there any reason for supposing that the Ionians said *χειρὶ* while their Athenian cousins said *χειρὶ*, or (b) is there, besides *χείρις*, another word, *χειρίς*, known to Wesseling but not to L.S.J., and meaning something different—it must be admitted that in the Herodotus passage 'glove' gives an odd sense—or (c) can it be that Wesseling got his quantities wrong; and can we expect the next editor of Herodotus to emend the accepted emendation and give us *χειρὶ*?

MAURICE PLATNAUER

Brasenose College, Oxford

CALLIMACHUS, *HYMN* vi. 88

ἐνδόμυχος δῆπειτα πανάμερος εἰλαπιναστός
ῥῆσι μύρια πάντα· κακὰ δ' ἐξάλλετο γαστήρ
αἰεὶ μάλλον ἔδοντι, τὰ δ' ἐς βυθὸν οἶα θαλάσσης
ἀλεμάτως ἀχάριστα κατέρρεεν εἰδῶτα πάντα.

(87-90)

THE conduct of Erysichthon's stomach has frequently caused concern. Ἐξάλλετο, the

reading of not only all the manuscripts but also *Pap. Oxy.* 2226 (early 2nd c. A.D.), is most naturally interpreted as 'kept on swelling', and so the Scholiast took it: *ἡδῶνέρο ἐπὶ τῷ ἐσθίειν*. But Erysichthon is not the conceited bullfrog of fable, to end with a bang, not a whimper. As Cahen pertinently

¹ One gives the nom. sing. and one the gen. plur. form, from which we can of

course gather nothing about the length of the iota.

observed, 'le boulimique ne fait que maigrir'. The same fact tells against Schneider's suggestion that the imagery is transferred from luxuriant, springing vegetation, for this belly has no cause to run riot. Callimachus tells us that the food which poured down into it was ἀχάριστα, and perhaps intends us to recall by way of contrast χαρίζεσθαι τῇ γαστρὶ (Xen. Mem. ii. 1. 2; Cyr. iv. 2. 39). I imagine that Callimachus found something particularly entertaining in the thought of a frustrated belly, for it ran counter to the usual literary lament on the imperious demands of the cruel belly. This one also is κακῇ, but the meaning is 'wretched', 'baffled'.

To the long list of emendations given by Schneider in his critical apparatus and commentary (i. 384-5) I should like to add ἐκεκλετο: 'the more he ate the more his poor belly kept withering, for all the food kept flowing down. . . .'. Generally the perfect stem of σκέλλω (whether in simple or compound form) is used for the intransitive

meaning, but the one occurrence of the imperfect that I can find is an interesting one. At Aesch. P.V. 478 ff. Prometheus outlines his major achievement and tells of the utterly hopeless situation from which he has rescued mankind:

τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, εἰ τις ἐς νόσον πέσοι,
οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξην· οὐδὲν, οὔτε βρώσιμον,
οὐ χριστόν, οὔτε πιστόν, ἀλλὰ φαρμάκων
χρεῖα κατεσκελλόντο, κτλ.

Here we notice something of a parallel to the Erysichthon story—incurable disease, no relief from food or drink, wasting away—and it would seem that Callimachus saw its relevance. If we ask what had set the poet thinking about Prometheus, the answer emerges from his previous line, for, as editors have noted, πανάμερος εὐλαπνασάς takes us back to the ravening eagle, δαιταλεὺς πανήμερος (P.V. 1024).

K. J. MCKAY

University of Melbourne

A HOMERIC PARODY IN LUCIAN

IN Lucian's *D. Mort.* 5. 2, in a passage describing a rich old *orbis* who raises false hopes in *captatores*, most editors, following a few late manuscripts, read αἰ θανόντι εὐκίως, while Sommerbrodt adopts the emendation of ἀσθενούντι for αἰ θανόντι. The better manuscripts, however, are divided between αἰ θανόντι (Γ, Ω, etc. = γ class) or its contracted prose equivalent αἰ θανούντι (Β, Ψ, etc. = β class).

θανόντι should be read because (a) a very similar old man is described in the next dialogue c. 4 as αἰ τεθνήσκειν δοκῶν, (b) αἰ θανόντι εὐκίως is, as noted by Harmon (Deferrari, *Lucian's Atticism*, p. 47), a hexameter ending. It is, in fact, a parody of αἰεὶ θαλόντι εὐκίως used in the description of Heracles' ghost in *Odyssey* xi. 608, a passage with which Lucian shows particular familiarity elsewhere, by quoting part of l. 602 and of l. 603 in *D. Mort.* 16, c. 5 and c. 1, and

by drawing the phrase τὸ μὲν τόξον γυμνόν (ibid., c. 5) from l. 607.

It must be admitted that the only future forms of θνήσκω are θανοῦμαι, τεθνήξομαι (the only form used by Lucian), and τεθνήξω (censured by the author of the *Soléciste*). ἀποθανῶ is used once by another Syrian, Ephraim iii. 241 E, but he is of the fourth century A.D. Lucian, however, seems here to have allowed his love of parody to override his sense of grammar and αἰ (or more probably αἰεὶ, the normal Homeric form and that occurring in the passage parodied) θανόντι εὐκίως should be regarded as yet another Homeric parody, and added to the long list compiled by Householder, *Literary Quotation and Allusion in Lucian*.

M. D. MACLEOD

University of Southampton

CICERO, PHILIPPICS ii. 103

As hac perturbatione religionum advolas in M. Varronis, sanctissimi atque integerrimi viri, fundum Casinatem. quo iure, quo ore? 'codem', inquires, 'quo in heredum L. Rubri, quo in heredum L. Turseli praedia, quo in reliquis innumerabilis possessiones.'

quo ore? does not combine well with quo iure?, and the difficulty is increased by the following sentence. I suggest that quo more?

should be read. Cf. *Verr.* iii. 118 quo id iure atque adeo quo id potius more (cod. det.: ore cett.) fecisti?, dom. 43 quo iure, quo more, quo exemplo legem nominatim de capite civis indemnati tulisti?, *Vat.* 30 (scire cupio) quo exemplo, quo more feceris, *Sex. Rosc.* 126 bona quo iure aut quo more (Ernesti: modo codd.) aut qua lege venierint quaero, *Verr.* iii. 198 quo more (Ruhnken: modo codd.), quo iure, quo exemplo?

In our passage the most important manuscript, the ninth-century Vaticanus, reads *not quo ore?*, but *quore*. However, one need not attach significance to this mistake; the archetype of all our manuscripts, which seems to

have belonged to the ancient world, may well have read *quo ore*.

R. G. M. NISBET

Corpus Christi College, Oxford

HORACE, A.P. 372-3

mediocribus esse poetis
non homines, non di, non concessere colum-
nae.

COMMENTATORS agree in taking *columnae* to refer to booksellers' shops or their adjuncts, comparing *Sat. i. 4. 71* (*nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos*). It is significant, however, that the word there used is *pila* and not *columna*.

F. Ebert¹ has defined the relevant meaning of *pila* as 'Pfeiler, kantig, im Gegensatz zur runden Säule (*columna*)'; it is therefore what we should normally term a pilaster. In *Sat. i. 4. 71* Ebert sees a built-in pilaster forming one of the door-posts of a book-shop. It seems likely that most shop-fronts, as at Pompeii,² were open to the street, but that the larger shops, which were often two-storied, had doors and door-posts in the centre of the frontage, where pilasters were a common feature of the design.³ Both *pilas* and *columnae*, especially when plastered and painted, lent themselves admirably to all kinds of inscriptions, as the excavation of Pompeii has frequently shown. In shops, however, it would be the pilasters that were so treated, and they were obviously an attractive medium for inscribing notices of books.

The word *postis*, it appears, is used of either round or square columns, but when Martial says (*i. 117. 10-12*)

contra Caesaris est forum taberna
scriptis postibus hinc et inde totis,

omnes ut cito perlegas poetas
he is probably referring in *scriptis postibus* to rectangular door-jambas as well as to other supporting pilasters of the *taberna*, which were inscribed. *Poetas* can hardly involve the whole works of the poets, but only the authors and titles.⁴ On the other hand, Martial *vii. 61. 5* (*nulla catenatis pila est praecincta lagoenis*) implies a free-standing pilaster, since wine-pots could not well be suspended on an engaged one; but Catullus *37. 2* (*a pilleatis nona fratribus pila*) may involve either type.⁵

It is not surprising, then, that *columna* is not used of shops;⁶ it denotes the round column used in temples and large houses, so that Wilkins seeks to defend the traditional view here by saying that *columnae* is a 'burlesque exaggeration' of *pilae*. It may be suggested that *columnae* here are the pillars of a domestic peristyle, where recitations often took place; symbolically, therefore, they will indicate the critical hearer. One may compare the pillars mentioned by Juvenal *i. 14* (*adsiduo ruptae lectorum columnae*) as belonging to the house of Fronto, an obscure Maecenas. Juvenal may well be echoing an association between *columnae* and recitation which he found first expressed here.⁷

That Horace had the practice of recitation very much in mind when he undertook to advise aspiring poets is abundantly clear.⁸

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

University College, Swansea

Horace's *columnae*, but rather differently: *columnas dicit, ubi ponebant poetae pittacia, indicantes se, quo die recitaturi essent*. For the practice of recitation in private houses see Mayor ad Juvenal, *i. 12*.

⁸ One of his references is scornful: *inductum doctumque fugat recitator acerbus* (474). But he manifestly favours recitation to an intelligent and honest critic. The poet should recite to Maecius (*in Maeci descendat iudicis auris*, 387); and he adds a suggestion that the Pisones should read to their father and to Horace himself. Varus is named as the type of outspoken critic in this situation (*Quintilio si quid recitares*, etc. 438 ff.), in which the hearer will be a veritable Aristarchus (450). Cf. also *Sat. i. 4. 23* and 73 ff.; *Ep. i. 19. 42*; *ii. 1. 223*.

¹ s.v. *pila* in P.W. xx. 2 (1950), 1318.

² Mau, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art* (New York, 1899), p. 270; Maiuri, *Pompeii* (Novara, 1951), p. 59.

³ Cf. Mau, *op. cit.*, pp. 284 and 309 (cases where the shops were part of large houses); Maiuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 and 66.

⁴ As a form of advertisement; cf. F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome* (2nd ed. Oxford, 1951), p. 84. The idea that books were tied to pillars and so were read on the spot (see Palmer on Horace, *Sat. i. 4. 71*) seems unlikely.

⁵ Ebert, *loc. cit.*, thinks it is 'freistehend mit Belastung in einer Halle'.

⁶ See *Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v.*

⁷ One scholiast connects recitation with

REVIEWS

THE HOMERIC CATALOGUES

GUNTHER JACHMANN: *Der homerische Schiffskatalog und die Ilias*. Pp. 342. Opladen (Rheinland): Westdeutscher Verlag, 1958. Cloth, DM. 35.70.

THE problem of the historical content and background of the Catalogues is complex, to be elucidated not in isolation but together with the results of excavation in Greece and especially at Troy; with Hittite documents; with Linear B Tablets; and with certain phenomena especially in the formula language of the *Iliad* itself. Now Jachmann is very hostile to those who believe that the Catalogues have a continuous history from the Mycenaean period down to the *Iliad*: the first chapter is designed to silence them for ever; and if it is a fault that the Catalogues are here studied so much in isolation, it is a very much more serious fault that the theory which he is attacking is not the one which has the greatest claim to consideration. We expect a definition from the start: we ought to be told that those who hold that the Catalogues are basically of Mycenaean pedigree hold also that they have been expanded and otherwise altered in the long lapse of time. No damage whatsoever is done to the fundamental theory by the admission that passages have been added or altered; indeed the theory insists that the process was continuous and of long duration. Nevertheless, it is held, the broad outlines emerge still recognizable, and preserve to this day a picture, though much faded and varnished over, of Greece in the twelfth century. Jachmann does not start with any definitions, and most of his arguments are directed to the wrong address. He begins at once to discuss not the problem itself but Viktor Burr's contribution to it; and he spends much time refuting certain unimportant and (we agree) untenable accessories. Burr suggested that a Mycenaean register survived (on a Linear B tablet) into the post-Dorian period, piously preserved by emigrating Aeolians; that the order of contingents in the Greek Catalogue represents the order of their arrival at Aulis; that Halos in S. Thessaly was a second port of assembly; that Nisa stands for Megara. These are incidentals, incapable of proof and exposed to strong objections. We have never taken them seriously, and wonder when Jachmann is going to leave the circumference and come to the centre. When at last a decisive argument appears, it is at least brief and clear. Arcadia, says Jachmann, has no coastline: therefore it is post-Dorian Arcadia; and that settles the whole problem once for all—'an der nirgendwo mehr arkadischen Küste . . . scheitert der gesamte Allen-Burrsche Theorie rettungslos'. That which *scheitert*, I do not say *rettungslos*, is not the Allen-Burr theory but the reader's confidence in this critic of it. For what right has he to tell us that the Catalogue's Arcadia has no seaboard? Of the few places named, at least three were unidentifiable to Strabo and remain so today. Moreover, if a port is not among the places named, it by no means follows that there was no seaboard. And finally, why does Jachmann assume that Mycenaean Arcadia had access to the sea? We simply do not know whether it had or not; and we refuse to draw any such inference from the mention of the Arcadian fleet, for nobody need believe in the Mycenaean pedigree of all (or even many) of the ship-entries, especially those with Ionic *νῆες*, *νῆες*. Of course it makes Jachmann's task very difficult

if his opponents are free to say that anything which does not suit their theory is a later addition; but he never really faces the fact that this is just what they do say, and that they are clearly justified in saying it. The whole theory is vulnerable at one point only—the centre. That is where the weight of the attack should fall. Jachmann does attack it, but in a brief inadequate paragraph (pp. 27 f.). It was Allen who first noticed how many of the identifiable places are known to have been Mycenaean settlements. Burr's thesis is the same, brought up to date with much more detailed demonstration. Jachmann's objection is the obvious one: Mycenaean Greece was densely populated, and many of its sites remained in occupation through the Dark Ages; 'was Wunder also, dass die Mehrzahl der Orte in diese Epoche hinaufreicht?' Yes, but that is not even half the story. What about the places, named in the Catalogues, which were *not* occupied after the fall of Mycenae? How did Jachmann's *Katalogist* learn about them? What about the very large proportion (about a quarter) which nobody in historical times could ever identify? And how could any such late *Katalogist* know so much about so many places all over Greece, grouping them into coherent Mycenaean kingdoms and describing them with graphic epithets, of which many are specific and highly unconventional? These and other questions need very careful consideration, if the centre of the theory is to be attacked; Jachmann passes on, leaving us wholly unsatisfied.

On p. 56 the theme changes. Jachmann argues the case (1) that the latter part of Book xi (the *Nestoris*, here an *Einzelied*) ignores the Embassy in Book ix, and (2) that the early part of Book xvi ignores both the *Nestoris* and the Embassy. The evidence in favour of both propositions appears overwhelming, and there are some good observations on the detail (especially on the relation of xvi. 71 ff. to 24 ff.). This useful digression arose out of the assertion that ix. 153 is *entlehnt* from xi. 512: nobody need believe that, or many similar assertions in this book, which in this and other respects belongs to the world as it was before Milman Parry. It is significant of much, that the name of Wilamowitz occurs about 220 times, the name of Parry not at all. Pp. 83 ff., Jachmann returns to the inquiry how Agamemnon can promise seven 'Messenian' towns to Achilles. Jachmann supports the theory that Agamemnon was a *military* overlord, whose *political* sovereignty is a *reines Poesiegewächs*. I see no means of proving or disproving this: Agamemnon, according to the *Iliad*, πάντων Ἀργείων κρατεῖ καὶ οἱ πείθονται Ἀχαιοί; he is βασιλεύωντας. But if we are asked whether this was true of Mycenaean Greece, or what—if it was true—it means (whether, for example, the Achaeans 'obeyed' him in peace as well as in war-time), we must answer that we simply do not know; we cannot even define precisely his relation to other kings within the *Iliad* itself—in which, we may be sure, whatever clear outlines there may once have been are now vague and blurred. What is certain is that the personal kingdom of Agamemnon in the Catalogue is very different from what it is in the *Iliad* at large; and that neither of them permits Agamemnon to dispose at will of towns in the SW. Peloponnese. I agree, though not for the same reasons, with Jachmann's conclusion—in effect, that the author of the Embassy cared for none of these things; ῥητορικὸς ὢν (schol. BL, quoted p. 99), he is concerned to show Agamemnon making a grandiose gesture, no matter at whose expense.

Ch. ii, 'Literarische Wesensart': the *Katalogist* is exposed as a blockhead; *dichterische Dürftigkeit* and *Blutarmut* are among the milder phrases. The attack is still directed against the wrong position: the modern view, we are told (pp.

117 f.), is that the Catalogue of Ships was composed in the Mycenaean era as an historical record of the muster at Aulis; and that it was adapted and altered by 'Homer' to its present form. Anybody who holds this naïve opinion is doubtless vulnerable enough: but Jachmann's criticisms do not apply at all to the theory that the Catalogue has been modified during transmission through a long period of time. Here we are asked to believe in an individual *Katalogist* who, having in front of him the *Iliad* in its whole extent (p. 152), composed in one piece (*aus einem Guß*) the Catalogues very nearly as we have them today. He was a miserable creature—'erfindungsarmer Spätling, kompilierender Pfüscher, armseligster Stümper'; but I can find no reason whatsoever why we should believe in him, and a number of reasons why we should not. Most of what we are told about him is highly subjective and speculative; and if it is claimed that he has been *proved* to us, we shall reply that in truth he was introduced secretly, without proof or even definition, and that he has been *assumed* throughout this very long argument. In all that Jachmann has said, there is nothing incompatible with the theory of a continuous process of modification over a long period of time; and the lengthy discussion of contradictions between Catalogues and *Iliad* does much more to confirm our opinion—that the two coexisted independently until (at a very late stage in the tradition) they were perfunctorily united—than Jachmann's opinion, that a person having our *Iliad* before him, and making great use of it, deliberately designed these Catalogues to occupy their present place.

Ch. iii, 'Aufbau der Kataloge': Jachmann begins with the Trojan Catalogue, and attacks the common opinion that it is arranged in four lines radiating from Troy towards the four winds. He may well be right about this, though nothing much depends on it; the truth remains that there are four groups, as defined by Allen, *H.C.S.*, p. 148. Of course there are a few inconsistencies and obscurities, not to be elucidated by theories built on theories masquerading as facts: p. 178, the Mysians lived near the sources of the Caicus—'*this may be regarded as certain*'; it is in fact wholly uncertain; as Allen said, 'there is no indication of place. The *Mvooi* might be in the moon.' Passing to the Greek Catalogue, Jachmann argues that the principle of arrangement is primarily *nachbarlicher Anschluß*. This is convincing, though absolute consistency was not to be expected and is certainly not to be found; pp. 184 f., Jachmann gives a novel and interesting answer to the old problem, why Thessaly is left to the last. On pp. 190 ff. Jachmann faces at last the apparently fatal objection which has been in our minds for at least 150 pages. The Catalogue's imperfect tenses have always been regarded as the clearest indication that the time described is that of the assembly at Aulis: if that is so, his theory suffers a mortal wound. If the Catalogues were composed *aus einem Guß*, specially designed for the *Iliad* in ihrem gesamten Umfange, surely even the manufacturer of this *senile Verfallsprodukt* would at least describe the muster of today at Troy, rather than that of ten years ago at Aulis? In brief, Jachmann argues that these imperfects are in effect pluperfects. I find it difficult to take this proposal seriously: but the reader will study the argument and form his own judgement; if it is *not* true, I cannot imagine how Jachmann's *Katalogist* can do anything but dissolve into dust.

Ch. iv, 'Die Einfügung': Jachmann attacks with good reason the views (i) that ii. 360–8 look forward to the *Epipoleis* in Book iv, and (2) that ii. 336–97 prepares the way for the Catalogue. Nestor's advice, *κρίν' ἄνδρας κατὰ*

φύλα, κατὰ φρίττας, is clearly ignored both in the Catalogue and in Book iv. Passing to the similes (six of them, according to Jachmann, who isolates ii. 467-8), Jachmann holds that these have no connexion with the introduction of the Catalogues: they all refer *backwards*, illustrating aspects of the action premised in 442 ff. As usual there is much disputable in the detail: but the conclusion deserves serious consideration; however probable it may seem, on general grounds, that this unparalleled plurality of similes is connected with the insertion of the Catalogues, some of us have perhaps hitherto taken it too much for granted.

I pass hastily over two short Excursuses, both unconvincing to me, and come to what is surely the most valuable section of the book, pp. 267-338, 'Die homerische Gleichnisbildung'. Jachmann maintains that the subject and the simile are essentially connected only by the *tertium comparationis*. Let *A* be the main theme, *B* the object compared: the comparison will be found to be based on a specific (and often explicit) *point of likeness*. Once that *Vergleichspunkt* has been established, *B* may go its own way, however inappropriate to *A*. The point is fundamental to the understanding of the similes, and Jachmann proves it in the only possible way—by giving us text and discussion of a large number of examples. The conclusion may seem familiar and obvious to some; but the fact is that criticism, at least in Germany, has followed very different lines since Wilamowitz decreed the abolition of the *tertium* from the study of the similes and H. Fraenkel published his immensely influential book, *Homerische Gleichnisse*. The official doctrine is that there is no such thing as the *tertium comparationis*; that the main theme is reflected throughout the simile; and that the simile may actually continue the action of the main theme. Great demands are made on the ingenuity of the interpreter—e.g. why is the snow or hail, to which Iris is compared in xv. 170 f., cold? Answer: because it is symbolic—the message which Iris brings is chilling to the heart of Poseidon. Jachmann gives many examples of such *spitzfindig symbolische Tiefendeutung*; his case against it appears unanswerable. Time after time he shows how the simile, once the point of likeness has been established, goes its own way regardless of its starting-point; how it may even develop into something wholly inappropriate to its context. Jachmann's verdict here seems to me final: let us all welcome the *tertium comparationis* home from its long exile.

Jesus College, Cambridge

D. L. PAGE

GREAT ARGUMENT

SIR JOHN L. MYRES, *Homer and his Critics*. Edited by Dorothea Gray. Pp. xii+302; 12 plates. London: Routledge, 1958. Cloth, 32s. net.

THOSE who had an affection for Sir John Myres (which must mean almost everyone who ever came in contact with him—at any rate in times of peace) and those who care for the future of Homeric studies must alike receive this book with mixed feelings, in which gratitude to Mr. J. N. L. Myres for having invited Miss Gray to put his father's papers in order and to Miss Gray for not only having done so but also having added two chapters from her own pen is bound to be qualified by regret that Myres did not find time to put his papers on the history of Homeric scholarship into proper form himself. In the preface,

dated 'Oxford, January 1954' (only two months before his death), Myres explains that 'the first half of this essay took shape in 1931 as a course of six Ballard Matthews lectures in University College, Bangor' and should have been published immediately thereafter; other parts of the essay sprang from an invitation to deliver the Charles Eliot Norton lectures at Harvard, and others again from Oxford teaching, which continued down to 1943. Miss Gray adds that, though she has 'tried to avoid the "insidious peril of devout editorship"', much recasting of the form was inevitable; in some cases she has made alterations in the content of the papers, rewriting where she knew that Myres had revised his opinions in the light of later evidence (I am not quite sure that this can be stretched to cover the reference to Caskey's 1956 excavations at Lerna on p. 169); she has also included the inaugural lecture which Myres gave as Gladstone Professor of Greek at Liverpool (appropriately entitled 'Gladstone's View of Homer'). 'The result', as she says, 'is less a systematic history than a series of essays differing in scale'—and the book must be judged and welcomed on that basis. The plates include a portrait of Myres as he was in 1931 and a snapshot of Dörpfeld lecturing at Mycenae; the others illustrate appropriate scenes from works of various periods from the sixteenth to the seventh century B.C., with two excursions into more modern times: a Flemish miniature of Jason and Argo, of about 1500, and Flaxman's 'Shield of Achilles'. Many of the illustrations will be unfamiliar, even to professed Homeric scholars.

The first chapter ('The Means and the End', pp. 1-10) sets out as the aim of Homeric scholarship that through it 'we may begin to see things as Homer . . . saw them, and be, in our own outlook and our rendering of it in expression, ourselves more Homeric . . . , more nearly master-craftsmen in the supreme art of living well, in the twentieth century'. To do this, we must 'understand and appreciate the Homeric poems both as masterpieces of literature and as documents in the history of early Greek culture' (2-3). These wise words, together with those on the permanence of Homer and the impossibility of reaching finality in our answers to the Homeric Question (9), deserve emphasizing at the outset; it is because Homer remains the same, while his readers' viewpoints change, that we need to keep our ideas about the history of Homeric scholarship up to date, particularly now when we are coming more and more to realize how much of the work which has been devoted to Homer since the eighteenth century is now of little more than historical interest. But what a history it is!

Myres begins with 'Homer and his Critics in Antiquity' (11-35), from Heraclitus and Xenophanes, with their attacks on Homer's morals, down to the Alexandrians, with their assaults on Homer's text, and their often misleading interpretations of his meaning. Personally, I regret that he did not carry the story on to the activities of the scholars of the Roman empire (and especially of East Rome), showing something at least of the stages by which the Greek text reached Italy in the late fourteenth century, there to join up with the Western medieval tradition, which he describes in his third chapter, 'From the Geste de Troie to Bentley' (36-53). The next chapter, 'Poet and Painter' (54-68), begins with illustrations of Homer in art, especially the influence of discoveries of classical works on the Renaissance painters, and then takes up the story after Bentley, passing by way of the theorists Blackwell and Vico to Robert Wood, the first of the great practical students of Homer—those who read Homer among the scenes which Homer knew, and who illustrate him

from their own experience. Then in Chapter v ('Friedrich August Wolf', 69-93) we return to the professional scholars from Valckenaer to Lachmann and Grote; and Grote, in his turn, leads on to Gladstone, the space devoted to whom (94-122) may seem at first sight disproportionately lavish, but provides information about the views of English readers of Homer in the middle of the nineteenth century which is not easily available in such compass elsewhere. Two chapters are then devoted to 'The Epic of the Spade', the first being devoted mainly to Schliemann (123-56), and the second, entitled 'The Homeric World' (157-96), dealing with developments since Schliemann's death in 1890; the chapter on Schliemann does not omit to mention the early contributions of the comparative philologists. The last of Myres's own chapters is headed 'Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf' (197-222), and deals mainly with the Homeric critics of the first half of this century and their Laocoöntic struggles with all the new knowledges which the archaeologists, the anthropologists, the philologists, the papyrologists, and the rest had made available to them.

The first of Miss Gray's chapters is headed 'John Linton Myres' (223-51), and combines a tribute to the man himself with an account of his influence on Homeric studies, in which the story is carried down to the publication of Miss Lorimer's *Homer and the Monuments* in 1950. Then follows a masterly summary of events in 'The last Decade' (252-93), including the decipherment of Linear B and the revival of excavation after the war, with an estimate of their influence on Homeric studies. The index (for once in a book on Homer) is almost entirely peopled by 'moderns'. At one point, Myres apologized for his 'too long' story (221); but I can only say for myself that when I put the book down, I could almost have screamed for another helping. Valuable as this book is, it is not (and is not intended to be) the historical study of Homeric scholarship which we badly need if we are to defend our predecessors and ourselves against the vulgar sneers of anonymous reviewers in literary weeklies—there is nothing 'obsessional' in a cautious refusal to accept each new hot-gospel at its promulgators' valuation, and a proper acquaintance with the development of Homeric scholarship since Wolf would go far to show how ready students of Homer have been to accept new ideas and to apply them to their studies.

It is inevitable, when one has oneself made a fairly exhaustive study of a subject, that one should not always find oneself in full agreement with one's fellows. It seems to me unfortunate that this book omits altogether the work of Buffière, Erbse, Stanford, and van der Valk among living scholars, and makes no mention of such works on the history of Homeric scholarship as L. Friedländer's *Die homerische Kritik von Wolf bis Grote* (1853), R. Volkmann's *Geschichte und Kritik der Wolf'schen Prolegomena zu Homer* (1874), and G. Finsler's *Homer in der Neuzeit von Dante bis Goethe* (1912). The statement on p. 13 about the medieval manuscripts and papyri is so summary as to be seriously misleading (on the papyri, at least, a reference should have been made to my study in *Akten des VIII. internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie*, 1955, pp. 51-58), and it is wrong to say that Bekker was the first to produce an edition of Homer with the digamma (p. 53)—he had been anticipated by R. Payne Knight (1820) and by T. S. Brandreth (1841). Professor Schadewaldt's first name is Wolfgang, not Wilhelm (Index, p. 301).

PARMENIDES

MARIO UNTERSTEINER: *Parmenide, Testimonianze e Frammenti*. Introduzione, traduzione e commento. (Biblioteca di Studi Superiori, xxxviii.) Pp. ccx+185. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1958. Paper, L. 4,500.

PROFESSOR UNTERSTEINER now gives us his edition of Parmenides. It is not related to his work *Parmenide, studio critico, frammenti, testimonianze, commento* published at Turin in 1925, but is a wholly new work based upon a new interpretation. It forms a sequel in part to his *Senofane* published in 1956 and reviewed in *C.R.*, n.s. vii (1957), 203-4. Once again we have a long introduction presenting many novelties which are such as may 'perhaps astonish the traditionalists', as the author says in his preface. But he is fully entitled to his claim that the work will be of great use even to his opponents because of the abundance and care with which other interpretations are expounded. Indeed the extent of the modern doxography here digested and recorded is a most remarkable feature of the book.

The following is an attempt to state very briefly the most important new points made, with an occasional comment. In fr. 8. 5-6 Untersteiner accepts a little-discussed version of the text found in Asclepius' Commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*: οὐ γὰρ ἔην, οὐκ ἔσται ὁμοῦ πᾶν, ἔστι δὲ μόνον / οὐλοφνές. It has often been pointed out that while from Plato onwards emphasis has always been given to the doctrine that Being is One in expounding Parmenides' doctrine, in the poem as it survives there is only one solitary occasion when Parmenides speaks of One in relation to Being. The reading removes this solitary occasion, and Untersteiner is then able to say that the doctrine of Parmenides was that Being is a Whole, not that Being is One. This last he supposes originated with Melissus and came early to distort the tradition. The distortion became permanent after the 'Megarian' revision of Eleatic doctrine, and so the vulgate text of Parmenides' poem came into existence. The change to οὐλοφνές is perhaps small enough. But line 5 in Asclepius also differs from the usual text. The new version, given above, is interpreted by Untersteiner as follows: 'it was not nor will it be a whole of united parts—ὁμοῦ πᾶν—but it is only in its nature a whole'. Here the meaning given to ὁμοῦ πᾶν is very hard to accept, and the usual reading for the line should be preferred. This leads to the retention of the vulgate in the following line also. Next Untersteiner turns to the ὁδός of the Poem to the poem. This he regards not merely as symbolizing the collaboration of god and man, but as itself playing a vital metaphysical role. The ὁδός itself 'is', and it creates the εἶν and so 'is' the εἶν, not, however, ontologically but 'gnoseologically'. So in fr. 2. 3 where the two ways are being described, one way 'that it is and cannot not be' and the other way 'that it is not and must not be', there has been much discussion as to whether the 'it' is some indefinite and undefined subject, or the εἶν itself. Here Untersteiner supposes that the subject is the ὁδός—it is the ὁδός that is and cannot not be. Thus the ὁδός is both the way to the εἶν and is itself in the process fused with the εἶν. This leads to a new interpretation of fr. 4. 1 λεῖσσε δ' ὁμῶς ἀπεινῶντα νόμῳ παρεόντα βεβαίως—the ὁδός itself contains only παρεόντα but when traversed by intuition it is seen to contain ἀπεινῶντα as well, these resolving themselves into παρεόντα. In fact the two

terms are the two terminal points in the process of becoming, now fused together, and become identical.

If we turn now to fr. 3 τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ νοεῖν ἐστὶν τε καὶ εἶναι, we are told that this identifies νοεῖν with existence (εἶναι, *esistere*) but not with being (ἐόν, *essere*). We are then able to say that νόος intuits the παρῑόντα/ἐόν on the road which exists, because νόος itself also exists. But in a little while we discover (pp. cxx f.) that νόος is also in a sense identical with the ἐόν and that 'the method has insensibly transformed itself into ontology'.

After these difficult concepts it is something of a relief to turn to Untersteiner's account of the Doxa. This is basically traditional though there are many new twists of interpretation incorporated. The Doxa is described as the 'visibility' of the Whole and as the Whole in its temporal aspect. From this point of view the παρῑόντα are first Light and Night, and then the other principles derived from them. But it is insisted throughout the poem that there is only one way, the way of opinion and the way of truth being a unity which reflects the unity of the ἐόν οὐλοφύες.

Such a summary is inevitably unfair to the argument which Untersteiner presents. In particular it gives no indication of the wealth and subtlety of the supporting material assembled. The interpretation needs to be considered as a whole as well as in its details and this cannot be attempted here. But the crucial point is the inclusion of Parmenides' method as a part of his real world. This is supported by a wide range of arguments, many of which involve a sort of fusion of opposed concepts as Untersteiner had previously posited in the case of Xenophanes. I may perhaps record a personal opinion that he fails completely in this essential contention, and if this is so, most of the rest of the structure inevitably falls to the ground.

University College, Swansea

G. B. KERFERD

COSMOGRAPHY

JEAN ZAFIROPULO: *Vox Zenonis*. (Collection d'Études Anciennes.) Pp. 183. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1958. Paper, 700 fr.

THE title of this book will perhaps suggest a study of an individual Pre-Socratic thinker along the lines of Zafiropulo's earlier works on Anaxagoras, Empedocles, the *Eleatics*, and Diogenes of Apollonia. This is not the case. We are now given a very lively and provocative essay covering in schematic form the history of cosmological speculation down to the present day, and indeed beyond. It is argued that there have been only five complete maps of the universe propounded, and each of these has failed or is failing essentially for a single reason, different in each case. The schematic form of presentation is admitted to be unhistorical, but the result is so fascinating that the exercise may be considered justified none the less.

The first system was that of Pythagoras, based on the principle of universal commensurability. This could not explain the problem of the diagonal in relation to the sides of a square, and Zeno showed that a language implying discontinuity can never describe movement without contradiction. (As in *L'École Éléate*, Zafiropulo interprets the 'Achilles' as based on the assumptions that space and time are both infinitely divisible, but into *discrete* units so that the

paradox still persists.) The second system was that of Aristotle which is rather unsympathetically presented as resting on two mistakes—the doctrine of final causes ‘which assigns as cause of an event certain characteristics in the event’ (but is this really correct?), and the doctrine that Force (the mover) creates speed and not acceleration. When this last was disproved by Galileo’s experiments from the tower at Pisa, the basis of Aristotle’s astronomy was removed and the way cleared for Newton’s theory of Absolute Space. This in turn was destroyed by the Michelson–Morley experiment which showed that there is no evidence of an ‘ether-wind’. The fourth system, found in Einstein’s special and general theories of relativity, was itself soon replaced by a fifth, the ‘unified-field’ theory of Einstein and de Broglie—not yet quite complete, but the grandest achievement of the human mind to date. But—and here we pass to the future—the ‘unified-field’ theory keeps a space and time that are not infinitely divisible, and so is open to the objections which Zeno brought against the Pythagoreans. Oh! Vox Zenonis. When this comes to be seen, this theory too will pass. Moreover, Kurt Goedel showed in 1931 that all systems whatsoever are necessarily mortal, so that all we can expect is an endless succession of future cosmological theories!

The second half of the book is very much ‘relativity for the layman’ with rather more mathematics in the presentation than all will find comfortable. But it is a very valuable reminder that we live still with the same problems that harassed Zeno and Pythagoras. Of the correctness of the presentation I cannot begin to judge. But the treatment of the ancient period is marred first of all by the determination to reduce everything to such an extremely *simple* scheme—a little more complexity need not have obscured the main lines of the story—and secondly by the hostile and rather unfair treatment of Aristotle. Despite this, many stimulating suggestions are made that are deserving of the most serious consideration, and the essay as a whole is extremely readable and pleasant to peruse.

University College, Swansea

G. B. KERFERD

THE PLATONIC *ION*

HELLMUT FLASHAR: *Der Dialog Ion als Zeugnis platonischer Philosophie*. (Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin, Schr. der Sektion für Altertumswiss., 14.) Pp. vi+144. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958. Paper, DM. 18.

THE *Ion* has often served as a schoolboys’ introduction to the Platonic dialogue, and historians of Greek literature have used it as a source of information about the rhapsodes and the Homeric recitations. Students of Plato’s philosophy have commonly regarded it as spurious, or as a polemic against an individual, or as a trivial early work. But Dr. Flashar, as his title indicates, finds in the *Ion* serious and valuable evidence of an important aspect of Platonic thought, and sets it alongside some of the major dialogues in order to throw new light on Plato’s philosophy as a whole.

An introductory chapter gives a useful survey of the literature written in various languages on the *Ion*, ever since Goethe described it as ‘eine offense Persiflage’. Both here and in numerous footnotes Flashar shows a thorough knowledge of modern views, but he does not allow this to come between him

and the text. The main part of his book is devoted to a painstaking examination of the *Ion* itself, from which a contrast emerges between the superficial content of the dialogue and its deeper implications. On the surface, Socrates is dealing with a stupid and conceited charlatan whose attitude to poetry shares all the falsity and the base motives which Plato elsewhere attributes to the Sophists. But this satirical picture, possibly directed against some living individual, must not be regarded as an attack on rhapsodes as a type, and still less on poets. The ascription of divine inspiration to Ion is ironical, and implies no rejection of inspiration as such. The true subject of the dialogue is not the discomfiture of this mountebank, but the problem of the real nature of poetry and its interpretation, the genuine inspiration of poet and interpreter. Underlying the negative results of the conversation is a positive doctrine of ἐνθουσιασμός. It need hardly be added that Flashar regards the *Ion* as Plato's own work.

Despite the persuasiveness of Flashar's argument, there are several grounds on which this view of the dialogue is unconvincing. There seems to be no good reason for distinguishing between Ion and other rhapsodes. It is difficult to take so seriously a discussion which contains such obvious logical fallacies, or to suppose that so much of its significance lies in what is not said. Not least among the difficulties is the *Ion's* probable place in the chronological order of Plato's works, which involves Flashar in a unitarian view of his thought. He agrees with others in regarding 394 B.C., despite the anachronism, as the dramatic date of the dialogue and the most likely date of its composition, and stresses its similarity to the *Euthyphro* and especially the *Hippias Minor*; but he holds that even when writing such an early work Plato had his mature doctrine in mind.

The full content of this doctrine as Flashar sees it is made clear in Part Two, where he attempts the difficult task of seeking a consistent theory of ἐνθουσιασμός in the dialogues. The first section, 'Plato and the Poets', deals briefly with the passages in the *Republic* and elsewhere where poetry is attacked. Here the idea of inspiration is not mentioned, and might indeed seem to be contradicted by the description of poetry—which, Flashar allows, includes *all* poetry—as doubly removed from reality; but Flashar claims that any apparent inconsistency will disappear when we see Plato's doctrine as a whole. From the *Republic* he turns to the final pages of the *Meno*, closely parallel with the end of the *Ion* and likewise taken as seriously meant. Politicians are condemned in the *Gorgias*, as poets are in the *Republic*; but just as the poet may create beauty by inspiration without knowledge, so the politician, too, is inspired, and by right opinion may achieve good results.

At the end of the *Meno* this inspired state of existing politicians is contrasted with the knowledge possessed by a higher being who can be no other than the philosopher-king. In the *Phaedrus*, however, it is the philosopher himself who is inspired. His ἐνθουσιασμός is not a losing of himself in unreasoning ecstasy, but a condition which includes dialectic and rises above the antithesis between rational and irrational. How can inspiration be common both to poets and politicians and to the philosopher, who is in a sense their opposite? Flashar finds the answer in the ladder of ἐρως in the *Symposium*, although ἐνθουσιασμός is not mentioned there. There are different levels of inspiration, as of love. Poets and politicians do not rise above καλὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα (211 c), whereas philosophers attain to καλὰ μαθήματα and so to knowledge of beauty itself. From this height of truth they rightly look down with contempt, as in the *Republic*, on those at the lower levels who are content with mere images. By this

ingenious correlation of passages which others may think better left apart Flashar builds up a doctrine of *ἐνθουσιασμός* at the heart of Platonism, which finds its first and partial expression in the *Ion*. The Platonic dualism is bridged, and Socrates' strange state of philosophical excitement in the *Phaedrus* can be compared with Ion's description of the emotions of the rhapsode.

This book is a remodelled version of a thesis presented some years ago, and has all the qualities of a thesis of outstanding merit. It is scholarly, well arranged, properly indexed, and readable. Misprints are few and unimportant, although the word *Enthusiasmus* has defeated printer and proof-reader more than once. But Flashar has produced far more than a good monograph on the *Ion*: though many will disagree with it, the picture of Platonism he puts forward deserves the attention of all students of Plato's thought.

University of Southampton

H. C. BALDRY

PLATO'S CONCEPTION OF PHILOSOPHY

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN: *Therapeia: Plato's Conception of Philosophy*. Pp. xxii + 322. Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press (London: Oxford University Press), 1958. Cloth, 48s. net.

THIS book is like one of the images of Silenus by which Alcibiades, in the *Symposium*, illustrates the appearance and character of Socrates: it is superficially unattractive, but there are some good things beneath the surface.

Dr. Cushman is Professor of Systematic Theology and Philosophical Theology in the Divinity School of Duke University. He sees the philosophy of Plato as a system which prepares the way for Christian theology, and he makes no secret of his wish to commend and support, rather than to expound in neutral terms, the conception of philosophy that he attributes to Plato, but he is seldom guilty of distorting Platonic texts in the interests of his own philosophical views, and he succeeds in combining history and philosophy without confusing them. In particular, he confines explicit reference to Christian theology within a few short passages, to the great advantage of the effectiveness of both the historical and the philosophical argument of his book.

But the book is marred by a number of serious superficial blemishes. The style of writing is verbose and undisciplined, with much use of inelegant coinages ('represtination', 'disvalue', 'ontal relationship', 'anaxiological', 'envisionment', 'decisional', 'boniform', 'soteriological'). There is a sentimental and sermonizing tone in the passages in which the author offers his own exposition of the doctrines which he shares with Plato. He finds it necessary to berate philosophers as various as Aristotle, Bacon, Descartes, and Kant for failing to see the Platonic light; in this he fails to do justice to his own, and Plato's, conception of philosophical progress by debate or dialectic. His proof-reading is careless. He is needlessly repetitive, and spends too much space in elaborating conventional interpretations and too little in defending his departures from usual views. (He has unorthodox views on the chronological order of some of the dialogues, but they are stated without explanation. It would be interesting to know his grounds for placing the *Symposium* after the *Republic*.) He makes the common mistake of assuming that all Plato's works, of whatever date and style, are expositions of a single coherent philosophy, and so sets himself the

impossible task of reconciling Plato's various remarks on *δόξα* and *ἐπιστήμη*, and of producing a unified account of 'dialectic' which will hide the differences between Socratic conversation and the more technical conceptions of the post-*Republic* dialogues.

It will be a pity if these faults deprive the book of readers, because behind the smoke-screen some important thinking about Plato is achieved.

Dr. Cushman wishes to defend, side by side, a philosophical thesis and an historical thesis. The philosophical thesis is that all ontology and epistemology depend on value-premisses; that moral knowledge is prior to all other knowledge; and that there is one ultimate preference of the human mind at its best which leads to the one true epistemology and the one true metaphysic. The historical thesis is that this philosophical thesis is identical with the central doctrine of Plato. Dr. Cushman maintains that Plato's view of the Form of the Good as the highest object of knowledge, giving existence to the universe and knowledge to the human mind, being *ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας*, is equivalent to his own doctrine that the intellect is 'axiologically determined'. He also finds in Plato, implicitly in many works, and explicitly in the *Phaedrus*, his doctrine that every man, however ignorant and depraved he may be, is capable of achieving salvation if he has the will to respond to *θεραπεΐα*.

The historical thesis is readily acceptable. The main difference between Plato and Dr. Cushman is in literary gifts and manner of expression rather than in doctrine. It follows that the philosophical thesis will appeal to convinced Platonists, but Dr. Cushman adds nothing to what Plato himself has left us in the way of arguments and persuasions for his doctrine. The importance of his book lies in his presentation of Platonism in new terms rather than in the provision of new arguments for it, and there are two aspects of Plato's work in particular on which Dr. Cushman has thrown welcome light. He brings out very well the Socratic-Platonic conception that, just as virtue is knowledge, and, above all, self-knowledge, so the state of mind of the ignorant and wicked man is a state of internal discord which the process of dialectic can reveal. Since every man is native to the truth (*ἡ οὐκ ἂν ἦλθεν εἰς τὸδε τὸ ζῶον*, *Phaedrus* 249 e), he is known to be contradicting *himself* as well as Socrates if he defends wickedness, vice, or unreason. The most important function of the reason in ethics, as elsewhere, is to strive for consistency and to expose contradictions. Much of what Dr. Cushman has to say on these points will be of interest to moral philosophers as well as to scholars whose prime concern is with the philosophy of Plato.

Similarly, Dr. Cushman presents in a new light, without himself modifying, Plato's view of the function of the art of persuasion in the hands of the true philosopher. He does not succeed in reconciling his insistence on the unprovability of his metaphysic with his conviction of its unique truth and authority, but in this, as throughout his book, *erravit cum Platone*. Dr. Cushman's gloves are made of thicker kid than those of his master, but behind them can still be felt the iron hands of intuitionism and authoritarianism. The ultimate moral and metaphysical truth cannot be both 'self-authenticating' and accessible to philosophical reasoning. But it is characteristic of metaphysical theories, as of other sources of illumination, that they can throw light in one place only by casting a shadow over another.

PLATO

PAUL FRIEDLÄNDER: *Plato: An Introduction*. Translated from the German by Hans Meyerhoff. Pp. xxiv+422. London: Routledge, 1958. Cloth, 35s. net.

PROFESSOR FRIEDLÄNDER tells us that his interpretation of Plato grew out of an exclamation mark that he put beside a sentence in Hermann Bonitz's *Platonische Studien* (1886). Bonitz declared that he was 'confining himself entirely to the presentation of the philosophical doctrine, disregarding everything pertaining to the artistic composition of the dialogue (i.e. the *Phaedo*)'. Professor Friedländer is well aware that he is not alone in being shocked by the approach that Bonitz's remark reveals, and that indeed the importance of the connexion between drama and doctrine in Plato was appreciated by Neoplatonist commentators; but what is true and important can bear repetition, and Friedländer elaborates and supports the old truth with such penetration and on such a scale that his book is a notable addition to the stock of Platonic interpretation in English.

Very little of the content of the book is appearing for the first time in the present edition, which is a translation by Mr. Hans Meyerhoff of vol. i of the second German edition (1954) of Friedländer's *Platon*, a work which originally appeared in 1928-30. Besides the six chapters that were added in 1954, the present edition includes a reprint of Mr. Huntington Cairns's important paper on 'Plato as Jurist'.

This *Introduction* is to be followed by two volumes devoted to the interpretation of the single dialogues, but it is well worth reading by itself as an account of the essence of Plato's philosophy. The author's special concern is with Plato's conception of the nature and scope of philosophical communication, and his chapters on 'Dialogue' and 'Myth' are among the most interesting and important in the book. But he also gives a sympathetic, if sometimes rather sentimental, presentation of Plato's central ethical and metaphysical doctrines. He repeatedly refers to the Seventh Letter, whose remarks on the difficulty of verbal communication he convincingly reconciles with Plato's theory and practice of philosophical rhetoric as they are found in the dialogues. There is some obscurity in his account of the relation between Plato and the historical Socrates. He recognizes that Platonic metaphysics goes far beyond anything that Socrates would have acknowledged as his own, while at the same time he inclines towards the view that Platonism is a necessary consequence of the work of Socrates. Here it is crucially important to separate philosophy from history, and to distinguish sharply between the logical conclusion and the psychological conclusion. There is no doubt that Platonism is a *natural* development of the philosophy of Socrates, but neither Plato nor any of his commentators has ever shown that it is a *necessary* development. Friedländer has some good remarks to make about the relation between Plato and the predecessors and contemporaries of Socrates, and he avoids the common mistake of exaggerating the differences between Socrates and the Sophists.

These topics are dealt with in Part I, which forms nearly two-thirds of the whole length of the book. Part II begins with three chapters in which the English reader will find himself rather at a loss. They are concerned to relate

Plato's philosophy to the work of modern continental philosophers (Bergson, Schopenhauer, Heidegger, and Jaspers) who are not widely read in this country, even by philosophers. After this interlude we return to the central themes with an excellent chapter on Plato's *Letters*, which is notable for its spirited defence of the authenticity and importance of the Second Letter, and for some remarks on ancient autobiography which could well form the starting-point for a full-scale study. The remainder of Part II consists of chapters on various special topics. Besides Huntington Cairns's paper there are chapters on Plato's physics, his geography, and his ideas on city-planning. Both Friedländer and Huntington Cairns illustrate Plato's influence on later developments in the many departments of theoretical and practical reflection in which he was a pioneer. The specific theme of the last chapter is the relation between Plato's *Alcibiades* and the digression of Polybius on the education and character of the younger Scipio, but its more general concern is with the influence of Socrates and Plato on the Romans. Most of the chapters in Part II are reprinted from journals; they are all too specialized to cohere very well with each other or with the more general essays in Part I, but they do form useful appendixes to the general interpretation offered in Part I.

Even outside the chapters on continental philosophers, the book is rich in allusions and parallels which connect Platonic studies with literary, historical, and philosophical studies in general. Rubens and Dürer, Goethe and Schiller, Dante and St. Thomas Aquinas, Bultmann and Dean Inge, Dirac and Reichenbach—all are called in to help in the understanding of what Friedländer rightly sees as one of the central achievements of Western thought. Some passages may be too fulsome for many tastes, but there is no trace of the pretentiousness which often mars such an ambitious book.

The translation is smooth and unobtrusive, except for an occasional Germanism (reference is made once or twice to Ionian *physicians*), and it well conveys the freshness and subtlety of Friedländer's approach to problems on which there are too many books and too few good books. Teachers of Greek philosophy will be glad to have something in English which they can so confidently recommend as a supplement to the admirable but overworked Taylor and Grube. But it is much more than a textbook, and on its principal theme it has been and will long remain a standard work. Plato recognized 'the impossibility and necessity of complete communication' (p. 148); and what looks at first sight a rather diffuse book derives an essential unity from its constant and fruitful preoccupation with Plato's struggle to resolve this central paradox.

St. John's College, Cambridge

RENFORD BAMBROUGH

ARISTOTLE'S DOCTRINE ON PLEASURE

GODO LIEBERG: *Die Lehre von der Lust in den Ethiken des Aristoteles*. (Zetemata, Heft 19.) Pp. 130. Munich: Beck, 1958. Paper, DM. 15.

WHAT Aristotle has to say about pleasure gives rise to many problems, although its importance for an understanding of his ethics is not in question. The present essay, which is based upon a Tübingen dissertation presented in 1953, deals with the whole range of problems, and provides a careful and interesting analysis of the texts with conclusions which are generally sober and reasonable.

Other parts of an investigation into the history of doctrines concerning pleasure in the ancient world were at the time of writing about to appear in *Sophia* for 1958 and *Gymnasium* for 1959.

The fundamental problem is the relation between the discussions in the *Rhetoric*, in *E.N.* vii and *E.N.* x. But this is complicated by the problem of the relation of *E.N.* vii to the *Eudemian Ethics*. While Jaeger supposed that *E.N.* v-vii were original to *E.N.* and were later transferred to *E.E.*, Festugière in 1936 took the reverse view according to which *E.N.* v-vii were transferred from *E.E.* to *E.N.* Lieberg accepts most of Festugière's arguments, but he supposes that when *E.N.* was written it was designed as a whole and contained three different books from those which we have and these were later lost. To make up for the loss the three books from *E.E.* were put in their place. This theory enables Lieberg to explain away various discrepancies and duplications between *E.N.* vii and *E.N.* x which seem inconsistent with the doctrine of unitary composition. But this doctrine is itself unproved, and *E.N.* vii can hardly be discussed in isolation from *E.N.* v and vi. The debate with Jaeger in fact turns very largely upon the view taken of *E.N.* vi in relation to the development of Aristotle's ethical thinking and this is not discussed by Lieberg. Since the interpretation of *E.N.* vii is a keystone in his whole structure this is a rather serious matter.

The discussion in the *Rhetoric* is usually dismissed because its purpose is non-philosophic. But Lieberg argues persuasively that whatever be the purpose of the discussion it has not prevented Aristotle from expressing in it his own views about pleasure. It is true that the view taken of pleasure rests upon the discussion in the *Philebus* and is largely Platonic in character, but it is already distinctively Aristotelian in presentation, and can be properly treated as giving the first stage of Aristotle's thought on the matter. The complicated and briefly reported arguments in *E.N.* vii are next carefully analysed. Here Lieberg argues that Aristotle is not, as usually supposed, picking out for polemic two highly specialized theories about pleasure, but is writing with the whole history of previous thought on the subject before his mind. The positions attacked are generalized positions, the generalizing being the work of Aristotle himself, and it is a mistake to suppose that he had particular persons in mind. This is supported by detailed discussion of the views of Speusippus and Eudoxus leading to modifications in the traditional account of what they said about pleasure, and suggesting that they held different views from the anonymous positions attacked in *E.N.* The case for *E.N.* vii is very plausibly argued, but most hazardous is the suggestion that Eudoxus never in fact held that pleasure is the highest good but only that it is a good, and that Aristotle misrepresents or distorts his position in *E.N.* x. It is better to treat the polemics in Book x as of a different kind in this respect from those in Book vii. On the basis of his interpretation of Book vii Lieberg suggests that Aristotle is there often arguing with his own previous self as seen in the *Rhetoric* or with contemporary members of his own school rather than with individual earlier thinkers. Both *E.N.* vii and *Rhet.* imply definitions of pleasure. Though in *Rhet.* Aristotle speaks of pleasure as a *γένεος* he already implies that it is an *ἐνέπρεια*. When this becomes explicit in *E.N.* vii it enables him to distinguish the Platonic and all earlier views from his own. A further and final stage in the development of his views is found in *E.N.* x, where pleasure in turn is distinguished from the *ἐνέπρεια* as a supervening perfection like the bloom of health. Thus *E.N.* x can be regarded as

itself the end of the polemic discussion in our present *E.N.* vii and (presumably) of the lost original which the present book has replaced.

University College, Swansea

G. B. KERFERD

THE TEUBNER SEXTUS EMPIRICUS

H. MUTSCHMANN: *Sexti Empirici Opera*. Vol. i. Editionem stereotypam emendatam curavit, addenda et corrigenda adiecit I. MAU. Pp. xxxii+221. Leipzig: Teubner, 1958. Cloth, DM. 11.70.

THE first volume of Mutschmann's Teubner text of Sextus Empiricus has been out of print for a number of years. All students of the history of ancient philosophy and logic will be grateful to I. Mau (who was responsible for volume iii of the first edition, 1954) for this *editio stereotypa* accompanied by addenda and corrigenda.

The basis of the text is unchanged. One new manuscript has come to light since Mutschmann published his text: a fifteenth-century codex in Leningrad (dated *anno mundi* 6956 = A.D. 1448; see M. Schangin, *Phil. Woch.* xlvii [1927], 217-20.) It contains (1) *Sexti Empirici Pyrrhonicae Hypotyposes*, (2) Ioannis Camateri poema iambicum *περὶ ζῳδιακοῦ κύκλου*, (3) *Excerpta ex opere astronomico Apomasaris*. Schangin noticed that the scribe in copying the astronomical books had carefully transferred lacunae and other faults of the exemplar into his copy; and that whenever he corrected, by conjecture, an obvious mistake of the original, he noted the fact that he had so corrected the text in the margin. It was therefore legitimate to assume that he showed the same caution in copying the text of Sextus. Now, in Ac, the Leningrad manuscript, we find readings different from, and often better than, the readings offered by G (the consensus of LMEAB = the archetype, now lost, of these manuscripts used by Mutschmann). Even more significantly, some lacunae in G are completed in Ac. Thus, at p. 71. 22 (*ὥστε τισὶ μὲν τούτων κρίνεσθαι*) and p. 72. 25 (*ἐν τούτοις*) G has lacunae that are filled in Ac by the words quoted here in brackets. This is, of course, of capital importance. It would indicate at once that Ac is independent not only of any of the other extant manuscripts but of their common archetype; we would have to assume that it is derived from another source. There may, it is true, be reason to believe that its archetype and G were akin to each other (there are many common mistakes). But the conclusion, so far, seems to be inescapable that Ac is independent of G and that therefore its readings ought to find a place in our apparatus. With this conclusion Mau, rashly, I fear, disagrees. Mau admits that the work of modern scholars on ancient logic has convinced him that G is full of errors. But since the corruptions of G corrected by the labours of Heintz and others on grounds of logic occur also in Ac he concludes that the independent pro-archetype was either very similar to G or that it never existed. (But even if it was 'persimilis' to G, would it not have to be included in our apparatus? Similarity does not necessarily point to lineal descent; it might be evidence of common ancestry.) Mau thinks that from the fact that Ac has an uninterrupted text where G exhibits lacunae we must not conclude that Ac obtained the right readings from an ancient exemplar. He thinks it not impossible, indeed he describes it as probable, that the scribe by his own ingenuity found the

words needed to fill the lacunae; the more so, as one of the lacunae is, according to Mau, filled wrongly. Mau who accepts into his text the completion by Ac of the lacuna at 71. 22 writes as follows about the correction at 72. 25 which he rejects (see addenda et corrigenda pp. 215 ff.): 'mera coniectura librarii ortum mihi videtur esse, non e fonte antiquo fluxisse; quamquam supra bene suppleverat, quod sententia poscit, hoc falso supplemento demonstratur librarium Aceodem quo omnes rell. fonte usum esse.' This seems to me a dangerous conclusion. There is no cogency in the argument that because one lacuna is filled in wrongly, the other, right, correction must be due to the genius of the copyist. Why must we assume that a 'wrong' correction must have originated in the mind of our scribe? Could it not be true that both the 'wrong' and the 'right' correction go back to the archetype; that in fact they are not 'corrections' at all? That if one of the completions is wrong, it may be a fault that perhaps arose from a misreading of the original text? This assumption would have the advantage over Mau's that we should have to assume no arbitrary corrections by the copyist at all: his practice in the rest of the codex shows him to be careful, truthful, and conscientious.

There is a further point which seems to me to merit more sustained consideration than it has apparently been given by Mau: in a number of cases it appears that Ac agrees with T (the Latin version) where the latter differs from G. T presumably is independent of the other extant manuscripts and their nearest common ancestor. Does this not suggest that Ac is similarly independent?

It would seem desirable that in establishing our text the readings of Ac should be considered as representing independent evidence, and that where Ac differs from G its readings should be included in the apparatus. Mau's report of Ac is on the whole based on Schangin; but in one or two cases his report differs. The following are passages where readings of Ac are reported by Mau in the addenda but not, or not in exactly the same form, by Schangin in his article in *Phil. Woch.*: 4. 26; schol. in mg. Ac ad 42. 4; 63. 21 (?); 68. 14 (?); 88. 7; 92. 12 (?). It may be that Mau used a more complete collation of Ac than is available to his readers. But it is not made clear whether that is the case or not.

University of Leicester

A. WASSERSTEIN

GREEK MATHEMATICAL TERMINOLOGY

CHARLES MUGLER: *Dictionnaire historique de la terminologie géométrique des grecs*. (Études et Commentaires, xxviii, xxix.) 2 vols. Pp. 456. Paris: Klincksieck, 1958. Paper, 22 fr.

A FIRST attempt to study the special terminology of the Greek mathematicians was made in 1579 in the *Oratio Cunradi Dasypodii de disciplinis mathematicis; eiusdem Hieronis Alexandrini nomenclaturae vocabulorum geometricorum translatio; eiusdem lexicon mathematicum ex diversis collectum antiquis scriptis*. In 1825 J. G. Neide in his edition of Euclid's *Elements* set a fashion of giving an index of Greek at the end of particular works, and the *Index Graecitatis* in the third volume of F. Hultsch's edition of Pappus in 1878 reached a high standard and is still of value. Sir Thomas Heath wrote notable essays on the subject as a whole in his editions of Apollonius and Archimedes; but Hultsch's lament that *mathematicam Graecorum dictionem nemo adhuc in lexicum formam redegit* remained true until

Dr. Charles Mugler, of Strasbourg, took away the reproach by this splendid historical dictionary.

It is, indeed, limited to geometry, and in the main to the works of Euclid, Aristarchus of Samos, Archimedes, Apollonius of Perga, Heron of Alexandria, Pappus, Proclus, and Eutocius. Mugler was probably wise to omit music and astronomy, though regarded by the Greeks as mathematical disciplines, for they deserve separate studies and would have swollen his work unduly; but he might well have extended it to include arithmetic, which would have introduced that fascinating author Diophantus, and covered the whole of mathematics in the modern sense.

Mugler's method is first to give the translation of the Greek word into Latin, French, German, and English, thus: κλίσις.—*Inclinatio, inclinasion, neigung, inclinatio*; διάστημα.—1° *Distantia, distance, entfernung, distance*, 2° *Dimensio, dimension, abmessung, dimension*. It is a small matter, but as he goes to so much trouble he might as well have included the Italian, inasmuch as such writers as Gino Loria have so well cultivated this field, and it would rarely have meant an extra line of type. Rightly holding that Euclid fixed the terminology of Greek geometry for centuries to come, he then gives the meaning of the word in the *Elements*, if it occurs there, and in the subsequent great geometers, with sufficient quotations to illustrate his point. As Euclid was the end of one long tradition as well as the beginning of a new one, he finally gives any pre-Euclidean examples that are relevant to his purpose. This method does not enable the reader to see how a word in normal use came to have a specialized mathematical meaning. In the case of λόγος, for example, he is confronted at once with the statement: 'Chez Hippocrate encore, le λόγος entre deux grandeurs géométriques est l'expression de la mesure de l'une des deux grandeurs par l'autre, définition qui ne s'appliquait qu'aux grandeurs commensurables.' He still needs to consult his Liddell and Scott—in the New Edition, of course, for before the revision by Stuart Jones and McKenzie that work was conspicuously deficient in mathematical examples—to see how the verbal noun of λέγω comes to mean *ratio*. But it would be unreasonable to expect Mugler to have enlarged his work to this extent, and within his appointed limits he has produced a work of great erudition, accuracy, and clarity that will always be at the elbow of specialists in Greek mathematics and may be found even more useful by those who are not specialists and need its help in elucidating an occasional geometrical passage. The few words that might have been included but are not come from the borderland between geometry and arithmetic, and the omission is probably deliberate. The proof-reading has been meticulous, but 'préeuclidien' (p. 7), though repeated (p. 8), must surely be an error in Mugler's own language, and the running together of λοιπόνάρα (p. 21) is an unconscious lapse into the habits of ancient scribes.

The dictionary itself is prefaced by a valuable essay on the characteristics of Greek geometrical language. Mugler notes how a mathematical terminology was created in the first place by applying to geometrical properties and operations words already in use in botany, anatomy, technology, architecture, and so on, e.g. ἄξων, βάθος. This tradition continued to the end; just as Euclid used τομείς, a shoemaker's knife, to indicate a sector of a circle, so Archimedes used ἀρβηλος, a leatherworker's knife, for a figure contained by three semicircles with diameters lying along the same line. In the same way certain adjectives indicating sensible qualities were given a geometrical sense, e.g.

ἀμβλύς, στρογγύλος, and a group of verbs can be similarly derived, e.g. γράφειν, τέμνειν. This ancient fund of geometrical words became enriched as nouns, adjectives, and words were created specially for geometrical notions, e.g. ἀναλογία, πόρισμα.

Mugler notices a number of interesting facts that have escaped most previous commentators. An early word driven out when terminology became crystallized with Euclid may be revived centuries later, as Proclus used αὐξη for dimension in the same way that Plato did. For the triangle, τὸ τρίγωνον and τὸ τρίπλευρον can be synonyms, but for figures of more sides words ending in -γωνον indicate regular polygons while those ending in -πλευρον can have any sides and angles. By means of prefixes Euclid indicates three different kinds of contact, συναφή the contact between two circumferences touching internally, ἐπαφή the contact between two circumferences touching externally, and ἀφή the contact between a circle and a straight line. One of his most penetrating observations concerns the use of the passive voice and the perfect tense in Greek constructions. Nothing illustrates the timeless character of Greek mathematics so much as such concise phrases, ἐπεξεύχθω εὐθεία ἡ AB and γεγράφθω κύκλος, 'qui présentent, avec l'énergie propre à l'impératif, les lignes et les figures à considérer comme déjà réalisées au moment où le géomètre s'y arrête dans son raisonnement'.

Along such lines the Greeks developed a standard mathematical terminology that lasted for a thousand years. It is an impressive achievement. It could not have lasted unless the terms devised had met the need for which they were created. But the very facility with which the Greeks handled their language prevented them from developing the purely symbolic notation that was essential for the highest flights of mathematics. Not until Diophantus invented a sign for the unknown quantity did the Greeks have any symbolic notation, and the initiative was not followed. Up to a point Mugler is justified in praising the conciseness of Greek mathematical language. Such devices as abbreviating ἡ εὐθεία γραμμὴ to ἡ εὐθεία, or ἡ ὀρθὴ γωνία to ἡ ὀρθή, with πρὸς ὀρθάς for 'at right angles', carried the Greeks a long way; and very daringly they shortened ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν AB, BG εὐθειῶν περιεχομένη γωνία to ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν AB, BG, while τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν AB, BG περιεχόμενον ὀρθογώνιον even became written as τὸ ὑπὸ ABG. This was as far as they could go without embarking upon symbolism. But the appeal of literary language was strong, and ἡ ἐκ τοῦ κέντρου for the radius of a circle held its own to the end with τὸ διάστημα, while the full expression for the parameter of a conic ἡ παρ' ἣν δύνανται αἱ καταγόμεναι τεταγμένως ἐπὶ τὴν διάμετρον more than held its own with the alternative single expression ἡ ὀρθία (sc. πλευρά) = *latus rectum*. The Greek mathematicians could not have done more with their language than they did; and it remains a marvel that they did so much.

London

IVOR BULMER-THOMAS

LEXICOGRAPHY OF BOTANICAL GREEK

J. ANDRÉ: *Notes de lexicographie botanique grecque*. Pp. 76. Paris: Champion, 1958. Paper.

THIS book is in a sense a sequel to the author's *Lexique des termes de botanique en latin* published in 1956. It is intended to fill certain gaps in the 9th edition

of Liddell and Scott, and one is led to suppose that with André's additions L. and S.⁹ may serve as a fairly complete *Lexique des termes de botanique en grec* for the most exacting student. It is indeed gratifying to know that our standard Greek lexicon is valued at its true worth on the Continent.

André's additions come principally from two sources: (a) Latin authors, such as Pliny and Pseudo-Apuleius, who borrowed and transliterated many Greek botanical terms, and (b) Greek writers from the fourth century A.D. onwards who were not reported in L. and S.⁹. André's book is modest in its aim and size, but is clearly the result of immense learning and industry. Over 500 terms are added and, for the most part, interpreted. So far as Pliny is concerned, André is a little unfair when he states that he is not systematically explored in L. and S.⁹. Renderings of a large number of Pliny's Greek botanical terms are given there, a fact which is duly acknowledged by Dr. W. H. S. Jones in the introduction to the Index of Plants printed in vol. vii of the Loeb edition.

English readers will wish to compare André's interpretations with those of Jones. Often there is agreement; and where there is disagreement, this is sometimes slight. But in botany a difference between one subspecies and another may mean a miss that is almost as good as a mile; and one cannot help thinking that this is a field in which international co-operation, and even international conferences, might bring valuable results. André's book was published in 1958, apparently without knowledge of Jones's work published in 1956. The game of Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral in classical studies will continue to be played for years to come, and the Vegetable part of it is particularly intricate. Agreement on a number of points might well be facilitated by some pooling of knowledge.

The book has been carefully produced. However, several of the Greek terms derived by André from Latin texts seem doubtful. For example, ἡ Πρωτέα ('l'herbe de Protée') should surely be ἡ Πρωτεία. Even if a Greek text reads Πρωτέα ἡ νυμφέα, orthography demands Πρωτεία ἡ νυμφεία. Again, σκορδοτῖς (derived from σκόρδον) is given as the equivalent of *scordotis* (Lewis and Short *scordōtis*). But this is a strange form, and I would suggest σκορδωτῖς on the analogy of μέλη and μελωτῖς (both meaning 'a probe'). We must also read Κομμαγενή for Κομμαγενή. One entry, λύγξ, cited by Sudines as a Ligurian tree which produces amber (Pliny, *N.H.* xxxvii. 34), should be deleted. The tree is a figment of Sudines' imagination. He merely conflated two common ideas about the origin of amber: according to one, amber was the congealed urine of the lynx; according to the other, it was an exudation from poplars.

Finally, some readers would prefer the article to be omitted in entries such as κέδυνον ἄγριον, τό, or μολόχη ὑπτία, ἡ. Greek is a recalcitrant language for lexicographers, and will not submit to a simple scheme.

University of Bristol

D. E. EICHHOLZ

GREEK LITERATURE

ALBIN LESKY: *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*. Pp. 827. Bern: Francke, 1957-9. Cloth, 74 DM.

IN writing a history of Greek literature on this scale Professor Lesky has met an obvious need, and he has done so with conspicuous success. A very wide range of readers will find his book indispensable. His treatment of Greek literature from its beginnings to the sixth century A.D. is lucid, sensitive, and scholarly.

The problems raised and attempts made by modern scholars to solve them are set forth in an easily intelligible form. The author offers no extravagant theories of his own. When he expresses his views he does so cautiously with due consideration for evidence which contradicts them. His references to scholars with whom he disagrees are gentle and courteous.

There are notes on the transmission of the text of the more important writers, and each section is accompanied by bibliographical references. Recent works of scholarship are well covered, but reference to older works, even important ones, is more sparing. A particularly notable omission is Jebb's edition of Bacchylides. Books listed in the bibliography of one section tend to be omitted in that of another where they are equally relevant; e.g. Pickard-Cambridge's *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy* is mentioned in connexion with the Origins of Tragedy, but not of Comedy. It is, however, ungenerous to complain: the bibliographies are remarkably full for a work of this size.

After two short introductory chapters on the transmission of Greek literature and its earliest beginnings the book is divided into five parts: Homeric Epic, The Archaic Period, The Era of the Greek Polis, Hellenistic Literature, Greek Literature of the Roman Empire. Arrangement of this massive range of material presents insuperable difficulties, and no system of classification can be entirely satisfactory. Lesky wisely refuses to follow any rigid rules. In general he reaches a sensible compromise between arrangement according to strict chronological sequence and arrangement according to literary genre. There are inevitably times when one regrets the influence of one or the other of these two considerations. It is on the one hand disconcerting to find Isocrates, Isaeus, and Xenophon coming after Aristotle; on the other it is inconvenient to have an account of the origins of Comedy widely separated from Aristophanes and discussion of the internal evidence.

In his chapter on Homeric Epic Lesky skilfully guides his readers through the maze of modern research. Here more than elsewhere it is natural that he should feel compelled to define his own position. He believes that Homer represents the transition from oral to written composition. Allowing that Homer was strongly influenced by the oral technique, he thinks the artistry of the *Iliad* implies a written text. He takes Milman Parry's work into account and repeatedly refers to it, but he does not, perhaps, make enough of the more important objections made by Parry and others to a written *Iliad*; e.g. that while it is natural for the oral poet to use conventional words and phrases when they are entirely inappropriate, it seems unlikely that a writing poet would do so, even if he were influenced by the oral technique.

Lesky traces a basic anger-poem in the *Iliad*, but does not attempt to define its limits precisely. He allows for the possibility of later interpolations, but apart from minor Attic additions to the Catalogue of the Ships the only interpolation he specifically admits is the *Doloneia*. He takes little account of the difficulties raised by the 'Embassy' in the ninth book.

Lesky believes the *Odyssey* to be a later poem by another poet who composed it under Homer's influence about 700 B.C. He is inclined to defend the relevance of the *Telemacheia*, sees the likelihood of interpolations in the *Nekyia*, but would retain the twenty-fourth book. In general he believes that the *Odyssey* drew more freely on the themes of earlier poetry than the *Iliad*, but that its poet gave them unity by artistic composition and skilful narrative.

An account is given of the archaeological evidence which shows that widely

separated cultural epochs are reflected in the Homeric poems; such reflections are explained as relics of a long period of oral composition dating back to Mycenaean times. Examination of the language leads Lesky to the same conclusion. The mixture of dialects and variety of forms point to the influence of a long oral tradition. Where the poet is comparatively free from tradition, as in the similes, his language is more akin to that of his own times.

Hesiod, who is dated about 700 B.C., is regarded as being influenced by, rather than influencing, the *Odyssey*. In discussing his poems Lesky gives prominence to the *Theogony*, in particular to evidence which shows that Hesiod was influenced in his account of Uranos, Cronos, and Zeus by a very old non-Greek tradition.

A vast amount of information, particularly of a biographical nature, is compressed into the account of lyric and elegiac poetry. One regrets that limits of space prevented fuller discussion of the more important individual poems. In particular one would have liked more about Alcman's *Partheneion* and Sappho's two most famous poems; reference might have been made to recent views on their interpretation by Page and others. There is a full account of Pindar's life and a good idea is given of the fragments, but there is disappointingly little about the epinician odes—just over three pages.

As might be expected the sections on Tragedy are particularly good. There are admirable accounts of all the complete plays and the more important fragments. Lesky offers interesting theories of his own and sane assessments of opinions held by others. His views on origins are based on the *Poetics*; he reconciles Aristotle's statements about the dithyramb and satyric elements with reference to Arion's satyr-dithyrambs. He gives reasons for believing that the spoken parts of Tragedy did not develop out of the choral lyrics, but were extraneous elements added to them. There is a good account of Aeschylus' *Dictyulkoï* and illuminating remarks on the reconciliation-motif in Aeschylean trilogies. It is argued that the *Persae* shows Aeschylus' earlier technique of separate plays, that the *Supplices* had a chorus of twelve, and that there was no development of Zeus' character in the Prometheus trilogy. Lesky believes that the *Ajax*, *Antigone*, and *Trachiniae* are the three earliest extant plays of Sophocles, and that they come in that order. He traces a development in structure from the diptych-form of these plays to the mature technique of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Electra*, and *Philoctetes*, and sees a decline in the *Oedipus Coloneus*. He defends the consistency of Euripides' *Supplices* and shows a rare touch of sarcasm in his reference to Norwood's strange explanation of this play. He convincingly claims that the *Bacchae* is neither recantation nor rationalistic protest, but reflects the growing interest in mysticism and ecstasy found in Euripides' later plays. The *Rhesus* is treated as a fourth-century play of unknown authorship.

Treatment of Old Comedy follows the same pattern as that of Tragedy. Full account is taken of the important fragments and there are excellent discussions of all the extant plays of Aristophanes. Later in the book there is a charming and penetrating picture of Menander and New Comedy, which includes a summary of the *Dyskolos*.

Lesky defends the unity of Herodotus' work. He compares the growing concentration of narrative in the last three books to the quickening tempo of the latter part of the *Agamemnon*, and sees archaic structural elements in both. In discussing the speeches he does not allow for there being two different types; although most are in the Homeric manner, some, like those of the debate on

constitutions in the third book, show Sophistic influence. Space might have been found for an assessment of Herodotus' accuracy in the light of modern research, and in the consideration of Herodotus' interests mention might have been made of subjects in which Herodotus had conspicuously little interest, such as military tactics and aesthetic appreciation of art and architecture.

Lesky holds that Thucydides' *History*, although unfinished, is in the essentials a single, coherent work. He thinks that it was given its form after the collapse of Athens, although many parts were based on notes and researches made during the war. He mentions the objections to the 'unitarian' view made by Ullrich, Schwartz, and Schadewaldt, but regards their standpoint as untenable and outmoded. His own position conforms with the trends of modern research, but he is too confident in his belief that the 'separatist' theory has now been abandoned. As regards the speeches, he oversimplifies the difficulties involved and deduces more than can safely be done from what Thucydides says about them in i. 22. Even if his interpretation of this passage is correct, it is difficult to reconcile some Thucydidean speeches with it.

There is a good sketch of the Sophists and the early history of rhetoric at Athens. As regards the Orators, Lesky is less inclined than most modern scholars to assume that Antiphon the Orator and Antiphon the Sophist are different people. Isocrates is realistically assessed as a great stylist but mediocre thinker. The common error is made, however, of dismissing the *Helen* and *Busiris* as 'Schulreden'; despite their epideictic form their introductions show that they are serious works of literary criticism. Isaeus, who is given less than a page, deserves rather fuller treatment. There is an excellent account of Demosthenes, in which his life, political events, and his speeches are skilfully integrated.

Treatment of Plato and Aristotle obviously raises difficulties for the writer of a literary history. Lesky makes a sensible compromise between neglect of the philosophical problems involved and too detailed discussion of them. It is probably inevitable that his summaries of individual Platonic dialogues should be less successful than those of tragedies and comedies in giving the reader an idea of the work in question.

Hellenistic literature is well covered, including the more obscure and less well-preserved writers. The section on Callimachus is particularly full and detailed. Especially valuable to the non-specialist is the survey of the *Aetia* and other incomplete poems in the light of notable additions to the fragments made during the present century.

The final chapter deals with Greek literature of the Roman Empire. In treating this vast miscellany covering a period of over half a millennium Lesky has had to be selective, particularly in the case of Christian literature. He himself claims to give no more than a brief survey. This estimate is too modest. An enormous amount of information is compressed into eighty-odd pages and there are copious bibliographical notes.

Lesky combines to a rare degree the qualities one would hope to find in an historian of Greek literature. Greek scholars and Greekless laymen alike will find his book invaluable. It is unfortunate that inadequate knowledge of German will deter most undergraduates of British universities from reading it. An English translation seems called for in the near future.

H. LL. HUDSON-WILLIAMS

King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne, University of Durham

THE SOURCE OF THE *PERSA* OF PLAUTUS

GERHARD LUDWIG MÜLLER: *Das Original des Plautinischen Persa*. (Frankfurt diss.) Pp. iv+96. Frankfurt am Main: privately printed, 1957. Paper.

MÜLLER concerns himself with the play which Plautus translated into the *Persa*. This is a difficult and dangerous task, and, although the author shows considerable good sense, he has not avoided all the traps. He says (p. 2): 'alle lateinische Zitate sollen nur die griechischen Verse des Originals vertreten, deren Sinn sie wiedergeben, ohne dass Genauigkeit im geringsten gefordert werden könnte'. But it is desperately difficult to assess how much change even quite innocent-sounding lines have undergone in the process of Plautine *poetere*.

Müller begins by giving an interpretation of the play (pp. 3-37). This consists simply in leading the reader through each scene, giving an explanatory paraphrase, and occasionally dealing with difficulties in more detail. This is the best part of the book; for, though there is little novelty in what is said, there is a sanity and level-headedness in the approach which avoids any attempt to go beyond what the evidence will allow and yet gives a satisfactory account of the play as a whole, from the Greek point of view. Especially good is Müller's treatment of the parody which the play presents of the normal love-situation: here Toxilus, a slave, combines the character of a helpless young man in love with that of a scheming slave, and this gave the playwright some difficulty in the first scene where helplessness should be the slave's main characteristic. Again there is an excellent discussion of the tragic character of Saturio's daughter, well illustrated by Müller from *Iph. in Aul.* There are, however, difficulties for which the solution suggested is inadequate. Müller (p. 24) reckons 721-33 a Plautine addition, the position of which Plautus may have altered; but more consideration should first be given to Wilamowitz's view that the passage represents a drastic shortening by Plautus of a detailed scene. Again it is hard to believe that (p. 28), in a play where a parasite has so large a part, sacrificing his daughter to his belly, he was left out of the dinner at the end because the Greek writer was limited to five actors. It would seem more likely that Plautus was interested in collecting together his slaves (including the beastly little Paegnium). The attempt to connect this scene and ii. 2 with lower types of Hellenistic farce is dangerous and lacks evidence. I should feel much more inclined to think that Plautus greatly padded out ii. 2 and, perhaps to give longer life to Paegnium (a favourite type with him), left Saturio out of the final scene. In general, however, a plausible case is made out (against Fraenkel) that the dances, or something like them, did belong to the Greek play: this case is now strengthened by the end of the *Dyscolos*. Textual points are not well handled: for instance, in the difficult 441 ff. Müller follows Using's distribution of characters but accepts Lindsay's change of *quin* to *quom* (thus 442: *Do. mirum? To. quom citius . . .*). *mirum* is either question or exclamation, to which Toxilus says 'ja sogar rascher gehen sie vom Forum, als ein Rad sich dreht'; and we are told: 'Es wäre also zu V. 443 zu ergänzen "ubi credideris"'. But (1) Toxilus can surely only ask such a question as 441 either to make a joke himself or to allow the pimp to make one. But 442-3 is lame in Toxilus'

mouth; (2) the understanding of *ubi credideris* is crucial and very difficult; (3) it should be noted that *mirum* alone is not used elsewhere by Plautus. It is hard to avoid Leo's conclusion of contamination from 433 ff.: at least, the linguistic difficulties need better treatment.

There follows a chapter of comparisons with nine other plays, the purpose of which is said to be (p. 38): 'um zu beweisen, dass Websters Annahme, der Persa verhalte sich zu Stücken der Nea wie "an early outline" zu einem "three-dimensional picture", nicht halten lässt'. This is unnecessary (since Müller accepts and demonstrates Fraenkel's point that the play is a parody of conventional New Comedy) and mistaken. Valid inferences about the structure of Plautine plays only come from careful and detailed interpretation; the author could not be expected to study so many plays in detail and the result is superficial, and marred by errors of interpretation. The odd conclusion is reached that *Persa* is among the best plays of Plautus and is far superior to *Curculio*, *Poenulus*, and *Pseudolus*.

There follows a chapter on dating (pp. 58–81) which is very indigestible. The references to Persia and Arabia are discussed at great length, with detailed examination of possible wars between possible Hellenistic kingdoms. But the references are too few and too imprecise to take so seriously: they are so few in fact, and the two main references (505 ff., 695 ff.) so clearly fantastic, as even to leave it conceivable that Plautus substituted Persia and Arabia for less romantic but more factually accurate Hellenistic kingdoms. In any case, for all his trouble, Müller comes to the conclusion that a war between Persia and some other land may have been mentioned in a lost prologue and the time of the dramatic action could belong to a far past period (but *Amph.* and *Capt.* do not provide clear evidence for this).

Müller's most original suggestion is that the play in Greek contained a prologue, which he would place after the first scene. There are certainly considerable difficulties as the play stands: the nature of the bargain with the pimp is left imprecise, the absence of the master is barely mentioned (29), and the role of Toxilus is obscure (52), etc. The trouble with this sort of argument is that it is impossible to judge how far Plautus has altered the first scene: it could easily have been an explanatory scene like the opening of *Pseud.* The reason given by Müller for Plautus' omission of the prologue (that the Roman audience would have enjoyed the brutality of the girl's mock-sale and would have preferred not to realize that it was pretence) seems very far-fetched. The omission of a prologue remains an interesting possibility.

Müller says of the play (p. 92): 'Rückgriffe auf vergangene Zeiten sind also durchaus in hellenistischer Zeit möglich, zumal in Athen, und dafür scheint mir auch der Persa ein Beispiel zu sein, wiewohl er, wie schon betont, kein historisches Drama ist.' This may be so, but he has relied too firmly on points like the Persian war with Arabia and *Attici logi* (395: taken to refer to the great past of Athens): they are insubstantial and the ground unstable, since much may be due to Plautus. It should be said, however, that a great weight of historical information is brought to bear on the play, and, though results are still imprecise, Müller's book is a storehouse of knowledge relevant to the study of the *Persa*.

CICERO'S *DE NATURA DEORUM*

ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE: M. Tulli Ciceronis *De Natura Deorum libri secundus et tertius*. Pp. 720. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (London, Oxford University Press), 1958. Cloth, 140s. net.

In this volume, containing text and commentary on books ii and iii, Professor Pease concludes his edition of *De Natura Deorum*, the first volume of which was published in 1955 and reviewed in this journal (lxxi [1957], 220).

In the second volume we find the same cautious conservatism on disputed points as in the first. Pease is generally reluctant to adopt emendation, and in many cases he is perhaps right, for *De Natura Deorum* was hastily written and Cicero may well have overlooked certain careless and inelegant expressions. But it is hard to follow Pease in ii. 153, where he defends *praedictae* against *praedictae* (read by most editors) on the ground that 'the causes and imminence of eclipses were often made known by generals and others who understood them to those who were ignorant', an observation which is surely irrelevant, for no general proclaimed eclipses 'in omne posterum tempus'. But Pease's strength lies not so much in his feeling for Ciceronian style and language as in the vast learning with which he illustrates the subject-matter. The commentary in the second volume is on a somewhat less ample scale than in the first, but it is none the worse for that, and the content of the later books makes the notes on them perhaps of more value than those on the first book. Though book ii has its tedious passages and book iii has survived in a sadly mutilated state, the two together provide valuable evidence for the history of ancient theism and indeed, in view of the use made of Cicero by some of the Christian fathers, for that of early Christianity. Pease's copious quotations from and references to the writers of later antiquity, Christian and pagan, provide a valuable tool for the historian of thought.

The book is clearly and attractively printed by the Dutch firm of Brill, but it must be said that it falls short in point of accuracy of the high standards expected in classical editions. There is an unduly large number of errors and omissions in the text. On p. 549, ll. 1-2, the word *motu* has been omitted after *omnia*, and *praestantem* has been printed instead of *praesentem*. On p. 566, l. 1, *republicae* should be *reipublicae*. On p. 619, l. 3, *quendam* should be inserted after *quasi*, and on p. 628, l. 2, *similis* has become *similes*. On p. 641, l. 5, *eorum* should be inserted after *ordo*; on p. 721, l. 2, *quam* after *nominatur*; on p. 879, l. 2, *et* after *essent* and on p. 960, l. 2, *ad* after *erat*. In places there are discrepancies between the text and the notes. On p. 586, l. 3, Plasberg's supplement *constantissimamque* is printed in the text, though in the notes the editor decides against emendation; on p. 746, l. 4, *deos* is the reading in the text, whereas *deus* is found in the lemma in the notes; on p. 968 l. 4, the text reads *consulunt iis qui*, the lemma in the notes *consulunt qui*.

The apparatus criticus is fuller than that of Plasberg's *editio minor* and simpler and more serviceable than that of his *editio maior*. There are one or two places where it, or the notes, need correction in respect of the attribution of emendations. In ii. 26 the deletion of *effusio* is wrongly ascribed to Heindorf; it was in fact proposed by Davies. In ii. 41 the reading *atqui* is attributed to 'Davies's deteriores', though Davies made this proposal without support from any manu-

script known to him. In ii. 87 the note 'aut ex codd. (*praeter dett. Walk.*)' is obscure; Walker proposed *et cum* for *aut cum*, and Heindorf adopted this with the reading *aut descriptum* (wrongly attributed to Walker by Plasberg), but neither of them, nor the manuscript which Heindorf followed for *aut descriptum*, read anything but *aut ex aqua*. Clark was anticipated by Baiter in bracketing *multum* in ii. 132 and *tyrannidis* in iii. 85. In iii. 30 the deletion of *quae sunt* is wrongly attributed to Davies.

In addition to some obvious misprints I have noticed the following mistakes in the notes. (The figures in the references are those of page, column, and line successively.) 539, 1, 27 for 3, 19 read 1, 19; 541, 1, 9 for *est* read *erat*; 544, 1, 40 for *quales* read *qualesque*; 545, 2, 31 for 186 read 184; 553, 1, 5 for F. read E.; 567, 1, 20 for *cum* read *eum*; 573, 2, 2 for Liv. read *Div.*; 573, 2, 35 before 2 insert *Div.*; 585, 2, *ad fin.* for ἡλιον read ἀέλιον; 590, 2, 9 for 1, 133 read 2, 133; 591, 2, 12 for 28 read 26; 603, 1, 23 for *aliquid* read *aliquod*; 603, 2, 33 for ἐγκέφαλον read ἐγκάρδιον; 614, 2, 28 insert τὸ after τῇ; 632, 1, 6 for 9, 14, 9 read 5, 14, 9; 645, 1, 12 for 77 read 76; 662, 1, 2 for 41 read 42; 710, 2, 1 for *Plac.* read *Plac.*; 730, 1, 25 for 66 read 69; 734, 1, 4 for 77 read 70; 738, 1, 41 for 77 read 72; 739, 1, 17 for *religatur* read *religitur*; 915, 1, 44 for αἰτοῦ read αὐτοῦ; 943, 1, 1 for *uastior* read *uis terrae*; 956, 1, 6 for *praebitis* read *praebetis*.

University College, Bangor

M. L. CLARKE

PROSE RHYTHM

WALTER SCHMID: *Über die klassische Theorie und Praxis des antiken Prosarhythmus*. (Hermes Einzelschriften, Heft 12.) Pp. vii+203. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1959. Paper, 20 DM.

As Schmid stresses in this book, rhythm was an important feature of much ancient prose, especially oratory, and indeed for Cicero the crown of that art. It is therefore gratifying that Schmid has not been deterred by the difficulties and dissensions of earlier investigators of this awkward subject from approaching it afresh.

Two-thirds of his book consists of a careful analysis of some major ancient sources, Cic. *Or.* (esp. §§ 174-236, but Schmid finds the whole work relevant to his argument), *De Orat.* iii. 173-98, *Part. Or.* 18, 73, Arist. *Rhet.* iii. cc. 8-9. The respect with which these are treated is the most striking novelty in Schmid's work. His main conclusions come straight from these texts, but he is justified in stating them with emphasis for the benefit of a generation so infected with the ideas of Zielinski, etc., that it seldom approaches the ancient evidence with an open mind. (i) For Cicero rhythm runs all through prose and is not confined to 'clausulae'. (ii) The term *clausula*, misused by modern writers, means 'the end of a sentence', not its rhythmical form. (iii) περίοδος and its Latin equivalents refer not to any syntactically complex sentence but to a special type of sentence, reserved for special types of passage, which somehow fits the metaphor from the race-course by 'returning to the starting-point'. (iv) Rhythm is achieved by the use of Figures of Speech as well as by metrical quantity.

After arguing that Aristotle's account is compatible with Cicero's, and that ancient rhythms were based on a 'paeano-cretic principle', Schmid offers rhythmical analyses of several Greek and Latin passages. He rejects the statistical approach altogether. Rather each passage is 'scored' like a separate piece

of music, and Schmid makes an interesting attempt to demonstrate the interweaving and echoing of various motifs of sound and sense.

But what does this elaborate analysis really prove? While some of the assonances, etc., are obvious enough, one wonders whether the ancient orator could have consciously achieved, or his audience appreciated, even unconsciously, the subtler and remoter echoes which Schmid detects. An important defect is that like Zielinski, the chief object of his criticisms, Schmid makes no allowance for the place of chance or necessity in producing the phenomena which he notes. How this allowance could be made it is difficult to see, but De Groot and other practitioners of the 'relative' method applied it successfully to *clausulae*.

The earlier part of the work, too, has its difficulties. It is pleasant to find Cicero credited with insight and intelligence, but there is danger in present fashions of treating ancient sources with exaggerated respect. Schmid underrates the polemical aspect of the *Orator* as surely as his predecessors overestimated it. He denies that the excursus on rhythm in the *Orator* is disproportionately long, but Cicero himself admitted the charge (*Or.* 162). Again, Schmid simply assumes that *περίοδος* as used by Aristotle and Cicero is a completely apt and unchallengeable metaphor. He ignores all the ancient controversies about this and related terms, just as he attaches little weight to the fact that Cicero's views are explicitly a choice from alternatives. Lastly, the decision to treat the sources in reverse chronological order is significant. Schmid, it seems, prefers to proceed from the more detailed Ciceronian account to Aristotle's more generalized and philosophical discussion, because, after all, he shares Zielinski's belief in a single general principle for ancient prose-rhythm. But the paean-cretic principle is really no tremendous revelation; it means only that the most familiar verse-rhythms and series of long or short syllables were avoided, and it involves the danger, though to a much smaller extent than Zielinski's scheme, of treating different things, when convenient, as the same. In recommending the cretic *rather than* the paean, Cicero consciously differs from Aristotle (*Or.* 215, 218). His earlier observation (*De Orat.* iii. 183) that the cretic and the paean occupy the same length of time is obviously only an attempt to minimize a real discrepancy.

It is better to read the sources in chronological order. From Aristotle's sketchy generalizations we pass to Cicero's more practical discussion, which takes account of post-Aristotelian research and his own practice. Here Aristotle's notion of a single-foot ideal for all prose-rhythm is rejected, and it is already clear that, whatever Cicero thought about the pervasiveness of rhythm, sentence-endings are the most important elements and the most easily analysed. Nor must we, with Schmid, neglect Quintilian's acute and realistic account (ix. 4). In particular, Quintilian gives sound reasons for concentrating on sentence-endings (*ibid.* § 61). Faced by Schmid's criticisms, the modern *clausula*-analyst may find comfort here. His work can be illuminating—within its limits, for Schmid is right in warning against identifying 'clausulae' with the whole of prose-rhythm. Can a study of that whole subject ever reach certain conclusions? Schmid's work is adventurous, not least in the respect it shows for ancient views, but perhaps Quintilian was right in saying that in this field *quaedam . . . arte tradi non possunt* (*ibid.* § 117).

A. E. DOUGLAS

University of Southampton

NEUHAUSER: *PATRONUS* AND *ORATOR*

WALTER NEUHAUSER: *Patronus und Orator*. (Commentationes Aenipontanae, xiv.) Pp. 210. Innsbruck: Wagner, 1958. Paper, ö.S. 140.

Writing in a clear and pleasant style of the origins and histories of the terms *patronus* and *orator*, Neuhauser investigates two questions: (i) how far was Augustus' position that of *patronus* of the Roman people? (ii) how did *patronus* and *orator* come in Cicero's day to be used interchangeably to mean 'defending counsel'? His method is lexicographical. Relevant passages are cited in full, their contexts explained, and any difficulties, textual or interpretative, discussed. The thoroughness is sometimes almost excessive. Likely readers of this book will hardly need so much exegesis, and the lucidity which Neuhauser seeks by frequent foreshadowings and recapitulations of his argument might have been more easily secured by a more rigorous selection of material. Still, this method gives the reader everywhere the chance to apply his own judgement to the evidence, and he can be confident that, with an important exception noted below, no likely source of light on the main problems has been neglected.

Neuhauser first discusses the basic meanings of *patronus* and its cognates (except *patrocinari*, *patrocinium*). He takes it that the *patroni*, originally enjoying full *patria potestas*, had the right and obligation to speak in court, the clients being *infantes*. He traces the development of a looser bond in which protection and even mutual advantage replaced control—though more often than Neuhauser allows these ideas are separable only theoretically. He concludes that Augustus was never regarded as *patronus* in any strict sense.

He then passes to occurrences of *patronus* in literature down to Livy. Here too some of Neuhauser's carefully drawn distinctions seem over-subtle, but frequently they are illuminating. Plautus often uses *patronus* humorously or ironically and *Vid. 72-75* yields the first example of the meaning 'someone chosen *ad hoc* to plead in court'. But these Plautine uses are colloquial metaphors, and do not imply a change in the strict meaning of the word. *patronus* as the trained forensic orator first appears later in the second century (Ter. *Phorm.* 307, L. Crassus ap. Cic. *Or.* 222). After following *patronus* through the first century B.C. and later—he is perhaps too ready to see in Livy accurate reproductions of archaic conditions—Neuhauser comes to *orator*. *orare* came to mean only 'to beg', except in *perorare* and some legal phrases, but *orator* retained the sense of 'speaker', or rather 'spokesman'. But its history is complicated. Varro felt obliged to explain the sense 'envoy', yet this is favoured by Livy, Virgil, and poets generally. But after these conscious archaizers the Ciceronian sense again became dominant.

On this latter sense Neuhauser is not entirely satisfactory. A comprehensive consideration of Cicero's idea of the orator, very important here, would shatter the proportions of the book, but instead of assimilating Cicero's *Rhetorica* on an appropriate scale the author has been content with a few inadequate paragraphs which show that the lexicographical approach can more usefully deal with scattered evidence than with a substantial body of thoughtful writing on a subject. It is odd to confine treatment of Cicero's views on the orator to a few citations from the *philosophical* works, to deal in

a few lines with Cicero's views on the relationship between oratory and philosophy, and to attempt to fit the orators discussed in *Brutus* into a scheme *disertus: eloquens: facundus*. Cicero never uses *facundus*, or *facundia*. Incidentally, Neuhauser's preference for the form *facunditas* is quaint.

Lastly, Neuhauser considers the relation of *orator* and *patronus*. To the early *patroni* he attributes a sound knowledge of law, but of course no formal rhetorical training. But in the second century B.C. came the incursion of Greek rhetoric, the *quaestiones*, and the 'Verpolitisierung' of the courts. Oratory became merely a political activity. Jurisprudence falling into the background developed in almost complete independence of rhetoric. But, just as the Greeks after the development of systematic rhetoric maintained their tradition that the citizen must defend himself in court, so the Romans preserved their old custom of the more powerful speaking for the weaker. Hence *patronus* = *orator* = 'defending counsel'. Hence also, among other things, the dislike of payment of advocates, as inappropriate to the *patronus-cliens* relationship. But finally, as Neuhauser observes, the orators by their neglect of jurisprudence 'dug their own grave'. When oratory decayed and the Ciceronian *orator* degenerated into the *causidicus*, the jurists claimed their own. After the first century A.D. the term *patronus* is again confined to a legal status.

It will be clear that the value of this book lies not in novel conclusions, except on points of detail, but in the way it gives solidity and depth to our knowledge of an aspect of Roman society which, though perhaps of secondary interest in itself, is yet typical in the interaction it reveals of Roman tradition and Greek influence. Sometimes the work savours too much of the dissertation on which it was based and of the proof-pages of *T.L.L.* on which the dissertation was based, but in the main Neuhauser has carried out his investigation soundly and well.

University of Southampton

A. E. DOUGLAS

TRANSLATIONS OF HORACE, *ODES* i. 5

RONALD STORRS: *Ad Pyrrham*. A polyglot collection of translations of Horace's Ode to Pyrrha (Book i, Ode 5) assembled with an introduction. Pp. xi+203. London: Oxford University Press, 1959. Cloth, 25s. net.

ON the eve of his death in 1955 Sir Ronald Storrs had the satisfaction of learning that the Oxford Press had agreed to publish a selection from his polyglot assemblage of versions of Horace's ode to Pyrrha. The selection of nearly 200 (about half of them in English) out of 451 in 26 languages has been made by Sir Charles Tennyson. The volume is appropriately dedicated to the Horatian Society, of which Sir Ronald was a pillar; for it is a fine bouquet of English amateur connoisseurship, and the sprightly Introduction is based on a speech made at the Society's annual dinner in 1953.

Why this ode in particular? A friendly argument with Maurice Baring is alleged as origin; but one may suspect that its claim is really intrinsic. It was not for nothing that Horace chose this from among his lighter poems to relieve the series addressed to eminent Augustans with which he opened his First Book, nor that Milton chose it for his experimental version, nor that Mackail

chose it as subject of a demonstration-lecture to a schoolteachers' conference (C.R. xxxv. 2-7). For it is both highly characteristic and perfect of its kind. It does not qualify for so much as a mention in Professor Fraenkel's *magnum opus*; yet it remains a work of art which the poet

quinta parte sui nectaris imbuit.

It is noteworthy that half of the German versions printed are in the metre of the original (with stress substituted for ictus, as usual), and there are analogous versions in Czech (170), Dutch (172), Flemish (174), Lettish (179), and Swedish (186). Storrs is against the application of Latin rules of prosody to English: 'Swinburne, master of metre and rhythm, in his Sapphics, Tennyson in his Alcaics and Hendecasyllables, evolved out of entire freedom of diction and subject, with obvious effort, brief specimen *tours de force*, but could never have shackled themselves yet closer by having to render another poet's thought' (p. 9). That is probably sound: for although there is nothing inherently impossible in this attempt, the difficulties are such that not even the skill and resourcefulness of Mr. J. B. Leishman could ensure more than partial success. Storrs sensibly compromises, like Milton. There should be some sort of conformity with the original. Quatrains should be represented by quatrains, and so forth. The dying fall must be preserved. So Gray's *Elegy* will not do as a model, though *In Memoriam* or Fitzgerald's *Omar* might, and Collins's *Ode to Evening* (recommended by 'Q' in his excellent essay on *The Horatian Model in English Verse*) is still better (not unnaturally, being in the rhymeless metre invented by Milton for Pyrrha). Milton's version is indeed the most faithful to the form, but it may jar on the Latinless. On the versions in foreign languages it would be impertinent to offer any judgement. One may only remark that the northern ones, closer in rhythm, seem to miss the delicacy by being clogged with consonants, while the southern ones convey the delicacy but miss the subtlety of form.

It is not surprising that most of the English versions should be in the Beta Plus range. Perhaps Sir Edward Marsh (79), though he must lose a few marks for eschewing quatrain form, could be awarded Alpha Beta for fidelity to sense and spirit; his

And wrought upon thy lovely head
That easy miracle of curling gold

is as near as anyone gets to the proverbially inimitable. (It is startling to find the Jacobean William Browne assuming that it is the boy's long hair that Pyrrha is binding up! Otherwise the ensuing century shows some disinclination to let hair be bound up at all: 'unbind', says Cowley for *religas*, following Fanshawe, and Horneck and the Marquis de la Fare say likewise.) The version of the Earl of Orrery (45) in twenty-seven heroic couplets, approved by Swift, is a sad reminder of the limitations of eighteenth-century taste.

From early times the poem has lent itself to travesty of various kinds, and this provides the most entertaining element in the book. In 1617 Thomas Sagittarius, a German, reversed its sentiments to make a serious poem, in Latin but in different metre, of felicitation to a bride (178). Mrs. Aphra Behn adapted the first stanza to introduce a poem to a boy (37). The Earl of Carlisle converted it into a lampoon against the Director Merlin (53), and C. L. Graves applied it to the manoeuvres over the Irish Question in 1884 (73). An amusing version 'in modern dress' was produced by James and Horace Smith,

the authors of *Rejected Addresses*, and the past century has produced a number of such variations, including one in the dialect of Upper Bavaria by Eduard Stemplinger (151). The most engaging of these is L. S. Amery's (80), the most outrageous, Wyndham Lewis's in prose American slang (90).

King's College, Cambridge

L. P. WILKINSON

THE NINTH EPODE OF HORACE

ERIK WISTRAND: *Horace's Ninth Epode and its Historical Background*. (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia, 8.) Pp. 61. Gothenburg, 1958. Paper, Kr. 7.

IN his recent book on Horace, Eduard Fraenkel took scholars to task for succumbing too readily to the authority of Buecheler in the interpretation of *Epode ix*. Future scholars will not have to complain of too great a deference to the authority of Fraenkel, for a year after the appearance of his book there comes from Sweden this able restatement of Buecheler's view, which may well bring about some changes of opinion among its readers.

Wistrand's conclusion may be given in his own words. 'The epode was written before the battle of Actium but after the initial successes won by Octavian's navy and cavalry, viz. in the last days of August, 31 B.C. It was written in the theatre of war, perhaps in Octavian's camp on the hill of Mikalitz, Horace having followed his friend Maecenas into war in accordance with the same conception of the duties of friendship that made Maecenas take the field with Octavian. The poem reflects the tense impatient atmosphere reigning among the adherents of Octavian just before the battle whose issue was to decide their fate and Rome's.'

To reach this conclusion Wistrand has first to consider the external evidence and disprove the view that Maecenas' absence from the battle of Actium is established by the historical authorities. He finds nothing in Velleius or Dio to show that Maecenas was not present, and holds that Appian in stating that Maecenas sent Lepidus to Octavian at Actium was confusing the Actian with the Alexandrian campaign. As regards the evidence of the poem itself, against Fraenkel's argument that Horace would not have left the reader in the dark as to the dramatic scene until the end, he points to other similar poems mentioned by Fraenkel but under-estimated by him, and to the suggestion conveyed in the opening lines that the poet and Maecenas were away from Rome. The poem, he points out, is similar in structure to *Odes i. 7* and *Epode 13*; as in those poems, there is the critical situation, the assurance of divine favour (*sic Ioui gratum*), and finally the invitation to drown cares in wine. It must have been written before the final victory of Actium. *At huc* in l. 17 (Wistrand dismisses the other manuscript readings as meaningless) must mean that the poet was in Octavian's camp, and *sinistrorsum* in l. 20 points in the same direction. *Fertur* in l. 29 is a prophetic present, unless it is due to a mistaken opinion of Horace at the time of writing. The interpretation of *nausea* Wistrand considers relatively unimportant; he inclines to the view that it alludes to real seasickness, though he does not think the scene of the poem is on board ship. *Capaciores scyphos* he takes as meaning 'let us drink more than usual'. The picture of Horace as the faithful *comes* of Maecenas, who accompanied him to the Actian campaign, is

confirmed by *Odes* ii. 6. 5 and other passages. In *Ep.* i. 20. 33 (*me primis urbis belli placuisse domique*) Horace is thinking of his connexion with Maecenas and not, as Fraenkel would have it, of the campaign which ended at Philippi.

A number of points of detail arising out of the discussion are dealt with in appendixes.

University College, Bangor

M. L. CLARKE

TIBULLUS IN LATIN AND GERMAN

RUDOLF HELM: *Tibull, Gedichte*. Lateinisch und deutsch. (Schriften und Quellen der alten Welt, Heft 2.) Pp. viii + 145. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958. Cloth, 13.50 DM.

THIS volume fulfils a purpose like that of the Loeb series, although it is more stately in shape and more ornamental in its dust-jacket. A pleasant introduction of 17 pages sympathetically illustrates the range of Tibullus' subject-matter; it is rightly remarked that he is a detached spectator of his own love-affairs, and that humour mingles with his sentiment. On the poet's elusive methods of composition there is nothing. The authenticity of the 'Sulpicia-cycle' and of iv. 13 is taken as established, as that Lygdamus must have belonged to Messalla's circle.

Opposite a text based on that of Lenz and a brief apparatus, somewhat arbitrary in the choice of what to record, is a translation into German elegiacs, the poetic worth of which I cannot assess; they keep close to the original, as this sample will show: 'Wer auch zugegen, er schweige: wir süßnen die Äcker und Früchte, / Wie der Brauch es verlangt, der uns vom Ahn überkam. / Bacchus, o komm, und es häng' um die Hörner dir lieblich die Traube, / Und mit Ähren umwind', Ceres, die Schläfen auch du. / Ruhe am heiligen Tag der Boden, es ruh' auch der Pflüger! / Stell man den Pflug jetzt ab, lästige Arbeit nun fort!' (ii. 1. 1-6). If exacting standards are applied, criticism will detect not infrequent trivialization of a more accurately chosen Latin word, e.g. 'abstellen' for *suspendere* in the passage quoted, 'bald auch naht uns das Alter' for *iam subrepet iners aetas* (i. 1. 71), 'feindlicher Turnus' for *barbare Turne* and 'reichlich füllt' for *distendit (horrea)* in ii. 5; *indomitis aequoribus* and *furorem maris* both become 'das tobende Meer'.

The English scholar will be more interested in the text. He will find conservatism at many familiar cruxes, matched by a firm hand in the translation, e.g. Lygdamus 4. 25, *non illo quicquam formosius ulla priorum / aetas humanum nec uidet illud opus*: 'Niemand sah je Schöneres als ihn die früheren Zeiten, / Und auch die heutigen nicht Menschengestalten wie ihn.' But he will welcome the fact that Helm places in the text his own conjectures, many previously published and now conveniently collected. i. 2. 7, *ianua difficilis, densus (domini MSS.) te uerberet imber* is not convincing. i. 4. 44, *quamuis praelexens picta ferrugine caelum / uenturam indicat (amiciat or annutiat) imbrifer arcus aquam* is worth attention, if a future participle can be joined with the object of the verb *indico*; but the translation, 'Ob auch schwärzliches Dunkel den Himmel umhüllt und der Bogen, / Der den Regen bringt, kommende Nässe verheißt', repeats a perverse interpretation of *praelexens picta ferrugine*. i. 5. 42, the punctuation *et—pudet—et narrat scire nefanda meam* is hardly possible, and *narrat* is more than 'sagt', rather,

'puts about the tale'. i. 6. 72, *ducarque capillis / in medium praeceps* (*immerito proprias* or *pronas*) *proripiarque uias*: why not *medias*? i. 6. 42, *stet procul aut alia se ferat* (*stet procul*) *ante uia* gives a neat substitute for the erroneous repetition. iii. 1. 19, *ille (illa) mihi referet, si nostri mutua cura est*: either reading gives a sentiment as good as the grammar. iii. 5. 11, *nec nos sacrilegi templis amouimus aera (aegros)* is very plausible. Sulpicia, 8. 6, *heu* (V²: *neu*) *tempestiue (tempestiuae) saepe propinque tuae (uiae)* is presumably an ironical expression of what is given straightforwardly in the version: 'nahst deinem Schützling so oft leider zu störender Zeit'. iv. 6. 20, *hic isdem (idem) uotis iam uetus extet amor* merely replaces one point by another. Only one misprint is not easily remediable—*diues in et ignaua* at iii. 3. 38; it may reflect an indecision over the reading. Finally one must be grateful for a feature of the text that facilitates reading: the poems are divided into paragraphs that act as a guide to the progress of thought.

Trinity College, Cambridge

F. H. SANDBACH

THE BELLUM ACTIACUM

C. RABIRIUS: *Bellum Actiacum*. E papyro Herculanensi 817 edidit IOANNES GARUTI. (Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto di Filologia Classica, v.) Pp. xxxviii + 105. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1958. Paper, L. 2,200.

GARUTI's edition of these fragments is the first to appear since Ferrara's in 1908.¹ His close study of the papyrus has enabled him to improve on his predecessors in a number of places, and his supplements are sometimes clever, even though conjecture in this text is in the nature of things an unprofitable occupation. No startling discoveries emerge, and the ascription to Rabirius is upheld: I do not think that Garuti has given enough weight to the arguments advanced against it by Ihm (cf. Kroll, *R.E.* 2. R. 1. 28) and Ferrara, and his case is often sloppily argued (cf., for instance, p. xxxiv on Col. 4. 4~*Aen.* viii. 686). The edition is exceedingly, perhaps excessively, elaborate, and not very easy to use. If it is necessary to give both a diplomatic transcript and a text of the 'column' fragments, they should be presented on facing pages; especially since supplements in the text are not invariably indicated by square brackets and one is constantly turning back to find out what is and is not in the papyrus. The minor fragments, first edited by Ferrara, are presented in threefold facsimile, Garuti's own and the Oxford and Neapolitan transcripts (where they exist): interesting enough, but of no evidential value. Again, since these facsimiles constitute the apparatus criticus, constant reference back and forth is necessary. Preface and commentary are couched in an oddly unidiomatic Latin, occasionally verging on obscurity; actual solecisms are infrequent, but *præx* at p. 53 deserves mention. The commentary is far from satisfactory: parallels, where given, are often shaky or irrelevant, and though the text as constituted by the editor offers some extremely odd Latin he rarely obliges with a construe (cf. Col. ii. 3-4, iv. 4-6, vi. 7). He seems shy of stylistic judgements: a few words on Rabirius' *magnum os*, for instance, would be relevant (cf. again Kroll, l.c.). Note 38 on p. xxiv (it should be on p. xxiii) shows that he consulted Schanz-Hosius, from whom he might have supplemented his 'Fragmenta e litterarum

¹ But see now L. Herrmann, *Le second Lucilius* (Coll. Latomus xxxiv), pp. 30-34, 63, 227-46.

testimoniis tradita', which in this edition number two (frag. 7 and 28; printed twice, at pp. 49 and 87, for no good reason that I can see) the alleged poem quoted in a catalogue of Angelo December's manuscripts, about which a little more scepticism might be advisable (cf. pp. xxviii, xxxii); and the four words quoted by Sen. *Ben.* vi. 3. 1. If it is scepticism that has induced him to omit the other fragments attributed to Rabirius by grammarians, verses which we have far better reasons for thinking to be his than those in the Herculaneum papyrus (Morel, *Frag. Poet. Lat. Ep. et Lyr.* 120 = Baehrens 356; for the 'episches Gepräge' of some of them cf. Haupt, *Opusc.* i. 158), a few words of explanation would have been in order.

As examples of Garuti's inadequacy as commentator I single out the following: frag. min. 2. 10 *pro]gressa equos*—no comment on the hiatus; 9. 8 *litora pelli[t]*—Cat. 64. 58, Tib. ii. 5. 33 are not parallels (as would instantly be clear if they were quoted); 13. 8 [*pon]dere c.*—'*scil. nauium* (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6. 413 *gemuit sub pondere cymba*)', a grotesque citation; Col. i. 4 Garuti's interpretation of this verse seems to depend on construing *nato cum* as 'with his son'; iii. 4 Garuti states that the papyrus indubitably offers *noluit*, which he prints without demur or comment (the scansion *noluit* seems most unlikely in an Augustan or Silver Age poet: cf. on *maluisti* at Lucil. 91, 92 M. *Thes. L.L.* viii. 193. 52 ff., Müller, *De re metr.*², p. 298); vi. 2 [*cau]is ceruicibus*, if correct, cannot mean 'in angore mortis': Stat. *Theb.* ix. 130 is *à propos de bottles*; 5-6 the almost incredibly inept repetition of *pars* in a totally different sense in consecutive lines excites no remark; vii. 5 *quam iam qua fata manerent* [apogr. Oxoniense, Ferrara] is called 'optimum enuntiatum' and explained as follows: '“quam (mulierem, Cleopatram) qua (= qua uia, ratione . . .) fata (= mors . . .) manerent”, i.q. qua ratione sibi mortem conscisceret.' Editors of classical texts should above all be able to distinguish between what is Latin (or Greek) and what is not: before Garuti directs his learning and undeniable acumen to more important authors, some linguistic spadework seems to be indicated.

Peterhouse, Cambridge

E. J. KENNEY

LUCAN'S *BELLUM CIVILE*

HANS PETER SYNDIKUS: *Lucans Gedicht vom Bürgerkrieg. Untersuchungen zur epischen Technik und zu den Grundlagen des Werkes.* Pp. 180. Munich: privately printed, 1958. Paper.

In Chapter 1 of this Munich doctoral dissertation Syndikus re-examines the evidence for Lucan's sources and decides that, though he occasionally resorted to other writers, he chiefly relied on Livy. In the light of this conclusion he examines such matters as narrative technique, selection and treatment of episodes, excursions, descriptions, character, 'pathos', and speeches; and contends that the *Bellum Civile* has more unity and a more satisfactory structure than its critics have generally allowed. His case is argued moderately and with a wealth of example that demands close study. What he seems to me to have shown is that *in intention* Lucan was a greater artist than is usually believed. He is right to insist (pp. 60-61, 105) that we are not necessarily to judge Lucan by the purpose and standards of Homeric or Virgilian epic (and indeed comparison with other extant Silver Age poets may prompt admiration for one who

struck out a line of his own). He demonstrates very ably (pp. 61 ff.) that the excursions of the *Bellum Civile* serve a higher purpose than the mere ostentation of learning and are not in intention excursions at all: even the notorious extravaganzas on the snakes of Libya is designed to glorify the heroic figure of Cato—the Cato of Lucan, not of history—by exaggerating the perils of his enterprise. Since Syndikus's dissertation is to some extent an apology for Lucan (in spite of the implied disclaimer on p. 121), it is perhaps not unfair to take him mildly to task for his silence on what is surely a crucial point: the extent to which Lucan's execution fell short of his intention. The worst of his artistic sins, which it is very difficult to palliate, is his lack of proportion. Syndikus's sympathetic discussion goes some way towards explaining this fault, but does not by any means, even implicitly, excuse it.

There is, moreover, one glaring omission, which it is difficult to believe can be inadvertent. The portrait which Syndikus, in minute and interesting detail,¹ has drawn, is instantly recognizable as that of a *declaimer*. Yet, except for passing allusions on pp. 51 and 71, the rhetorical background to Lucan's poetry is hardly mentioned: how is it possible, for instance, to omit all consideration of his education in the discussion of 'Beweggründe' at p. 43? Commonplace though the matter is, it remains central to any discussion of the 'Grundlagen' of Lucan's epic. Macaulay, who knew more about rhetoric than most men, relished Lucan's merits and perceived that his faults were those of a young man still unemancipated from the schools. 'If Lucan had lived, he would probably have improved greatly'; and it is a plausible guess that he had enough originality and strength of character to have outgrown the conformity to the *Zeitstil* which Syndikus appears reluctant to censure (p. 75). As it is, Quintilian's words (*Inst. Or.* viii. *prooem.* 24) might have been written with him in mind: 'et, quod recte dici potest, circumimus amore uerborum et, quod satis dictum est, repetimus et, quod uno uerbo patet, pluribus oneramus et pleraque significare melius putamus quam dicere.' Syndikus's failure to incorporate these considerations into his discussion is puzzling. It seems to me to mar an otherwise solid and thoughtful piece of work.

Peterhouse, Cambridge

E. J. KENNEY

GREEK MORPHOLOGY

WILHELM BRANDENSTEIN: *Griechische Sprachwissenschaft*, ii: Wortbildung und Formenlehre. (Sammlung Göschen 118/118a.) Pp. 192. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1959. Paper, DM. 5.80.

To treat the word-formation and morphology of Greek in fewer than 200 pages is a difficult task, which Brandenstein has on the whole successfully accomplished on traditional lines. If the following review seems mostly devoted to criticism, it is not to be thought that the book as a whole is undeserving of praise.

Since the purpose of this book is clearly to present a comparative and historical account of the language, it is surprising that so much space is given (in some cases six consecutive pages) to the sort of paradigms that can be found in any school grammar, and even to a list of principal parts of verbs (pp. 176–89).

¹ A good example is p. 21, n. 53 on the significance of Petronius' criticism.

It was necessary to restrict the quotation of comparative material; cognate forms from other languages are relatively few, but aptly chosen, mainly from Sanskrit. In compensation much use is made of reconstructed Indo-European words, some of which are, however, merely Indo-Europeanized Sanskrit (cf. the forms of the Dual, p. 21). The Greek described is mainly Attic, with a fair admixture of Homeric forms; other dialects are quoted only where needed to elucidate these. The complete absence of Mycenaean (Linear B) Greek is surprising; the acceptance of Ventris's decipherment, if not universal, is so widespread that lack of reference to it must be an act of policy, which should have been explained; points on which Linear B evidence, if admitted as valid, is essential include the dative singular in *-ei* (p. 20), the instrumental in *-phi* (p. 21), especially as this is taken as originally singular, the comparative *μείων* (p. 66), the declension of *εἰς* (p. 90) and of the perfect active participle (p. 137). In a book of which the scale excludes full reporting of controversies, it is difficult, but at the same time desirable, to avoid dogmatism. In this respect Brandenstein has not been entirely successful, and the reader who is unfamiliar with Greek linguistics from other sources will need to take some sections with caution, e.g. the derivation of *ἐκαστος* from *ἐκάς + τις* (p. 86), the injunctive theory of the 2nd plural imperative (p. 96), and the explanation of the pluperfect by an *-es-* suffix; it is not suggested that the views given are untenable, but that they have been widely disputed. Brandenstein does not operate with the Laryngal hypothesis, which, despite all uncertainties, facilitates the understanding of many Greek forms; for example in his treatment of *εἰμί* 'sum' he must postulate an extension of full grade *es-* to the plural not only in the present in Greek, but in the imperfect in I.-E. (pp. 163-4). Ruipérez's demonstration of the priority of the middle endings *-τοι, -ντοι* (supported by Linear B) is not mentioned (p. 111). Omissions which are evidently not due to the author's standpoint, but to oversight or limited space, include the question of vowel grade in comparative and superlative, *ὀλεῖζων, πηλίκος* and its correlatives, *ἐξελαύνοια* (Arcadian, but of general importance), the future in *-σέω*. (It should be remarked that a closely printed text and the lack of an index of words and suffixes make omissions difficult to confirm.)

The following is a selection from a list of points over which issue could be joined. It is surely not correct that the lengthened vowel of reduplicated forms like *ἀκήκοα* is Attic (p. 8; contrast p. 124). The I.-E. locative singular without ending is here described as 'meist mit Schwundstufe' (p. 19). OInd. *dueh* is a bad illustration of the *i*-stem genitive singular in *-eis*, since the normal form for this word is *dvyah* (given p. 37). **gerāu* is a very uncertain reconstruction (p. 43; see Frisk, *Gr. Et. Wtb.* s.v. *γρᾱῦς*). Is there any need to postulate **se*, etc., to explain the comparatively few cases in which the *f* of *έ*, etc., is disregarded in Epic (p. 72)? A future tense is assumed for I.-E. (p. 96); is this consistent with the statement (p. 97) 'die sog. Tempora von Haus aus *gar nicht* dazu dienen, die Zeitstufe (Gegenwart, Vergangenheit, Zukunft) auszudrücken' (my italics), and is not this statement too absolute in this form? The future in *-sō*, etc., corresponds to the Old Irish *s*-subjunctive rather than the reduplicated *s*-future, and is not 'eine genaue Entsprechung', as the Irish paradigm has some athematic forms (p. 109). Against the explanation of *εἶρηκα* from *φε-ερηκα* with dissimilation (p. 124) see Lejeune, *Traité*² (1955), p. 314. On p. 164 first *ῥεν*, then *ῥσαν* is equated with OInd. *ḍsan*; surely *ῥσαν* is a Greek innovation. Intelligible, though incorrectly expressed, is 'φᾶσί aus dor. φᾶ-ντι' (p. 168).

The two paradigms for the pluperfect of *οἶδα* (p. 172) are constructions from a set of forms representing the fragments of the original inflexion and several phases of analogical innovation; they disguise the historical relations. Brandenstein's explanation, moreover, requires *ᾗδεσαν* to be earlier than *ᾗδεα*.

There are a number of misprints; the following were observed without special scrutiny (corrections in brackets): p. 20; Gen. auf-*ai* (Dat. . .); p. 27: -*σοι*(ι) (-*οισ*(ι)); p. 35: *ληφος* (*ἔληφος*; in the following line *ἔλαος*, apparently, but the third letter is a bad impression in the review copy: read *ἔλαος*); p. 73: *στέργει* (*στέργεις*); p. 95: the numeral signs *ς* and *ϙ* are both given as *ϙ*; p. 132: *τεταρπώσμεθα* (-*ώμεσθα*); p. 136: there should be a comma, not a full stop, after *ἐα-κδr-a*; p. 156: *ἐθέκαμεν* (-*η*-); p. 169: *καδῆ(σ)το* (*καθ-*).

Westfield College, University of London

D. M. JONES

FORMS OF ADDRESS

J. SVENNING: *Anredeformen*. Vergleichende Forschungen zur indirekten Anrede in der dritten Person und zum Nominativ für den Vokativ. (Skrifter utgivna av K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala, 42.) Pp. xl+495. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1958. Paper, 35 kr.

IN treating the two main subjects to which the title of his book refers Svenning shows an impressive familiarity with the syntax and idiom not only of classical and post-classical Greek and Latin but also of Romance and Germanic languages; his discussions and the quotations which illustrate them cover every period of European linguistic history from Homer to the present day. Between the two phenomena which he chiefly studies, though both may be called 'Anredeformen', there is no necessary connexion and little similarity. Indirect address is the product of social relations and of the attitude of individuals to their superiors or equals in status; its vicissitudes reflect the social conditions of different countries and periods. The use of nominative for vocative has a scope more narrowly syntactical, and the interest of Svenning's handling of it lies not only in his description and exemplification of the usages concerned, but in methodological implications. His criticisms of the views of Wackernagel and others bring out the impropriety of resorting to the comparative method before the history of a phenomenon has been fully explored and correctly evaluated for each language in which it occurs. At the same time it is questionable whether the terms 'nominative', 'vocative' can properly be used, as Svenning uses them, of languages which do not distinguish cases, or at least these cases, by inflexion. Besides the two main subjects a number of subsidiary points are set out in detail. Some of these, which form part of the main argument, are treated at such length as to seem digressions. The paragraphs in small print (246-7) on syllabic equality in declension, with their numerous examples from post-classical Latin, go beyond what is strictly needed in the context and are called an 'Exkurs' by the author himself. The type *scelus uiri* in classical and modern languages is illustrated by a long series of examples including not only address but statement and exclamation also; Greek is by comparison treated rather cursorily, with omission, for example, of Aesch. *Cho.* 770 *δεσπότην στήγης*. Six other points are consigned to appendixes, among them a particularly interesting and copiously documented history of the use of words meaning

'lord' as terms of address. When such riches are provided, it perhaps smacks of ingratitude to wish that Svennung had added a seventh appendix on the use of the 1st person plural in address (the doctor's 'How are we today'), of which an example is found in Plato, *Ion* 530 b ἄγε δὴ ὅπως καὶ τὰ Παναθήναια νικήσομεν (sympathetic interest, or a mocking echo of Ion's preceding words τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἀθλῶν ἡνεγκάμεθα, ὦ Σώκρατες?). To a great extent Svennung allows his illustrations, helped by his comments on them, to tell their own story. When he has recourse to theory, his grasp of the history of the usages in question enables him to avoid the sort of far-fetched conjectures which he criticizes in the views of Loewe and Nehring. He is also in a position to set right some repeated misconceptions of fact, particularly about the use of nominative for vocative in Homer (p. 202).

The book is furnished with a comprehensive bibliography and a summary in English. This summary has its value even for those who read German, since it provides a useful guide through a work in which by its very nature it is now and then not easy to see the wood for the trees. The classicist may consult *Anredeformen* for the light it throws on points of Greek and Latin syntax or for the reflection of Roman social and political history in the origins of the use of abstract terms in address (*maiestas tua*, etc.). Once he has opened the book he will find it scarcely possible not to be fascinated by the varied and sometimes bizarre expressions in many languages, so learnedly presented and judiciously discussed by Svennung, which have arisen from the (one might have thought) simple business of addressing one's fellow men.

Westfield College, London

D. M. JONES

THE TONGUES OF ITALY

ERNST PULGRAM: *The Tongues of Italy*. Prehistory and History. Pp. xii+465; 5 maps. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (London: Oxford University Press), 1958. Cloth, 72s. net.

THE scope of this book is no less than the history, from Palaeolithic times to the present day, of the linguistic situation in Italy and of its social, cultural, political, and economic conditions; the languages themselves are neither described nor exemplified. It is intended partly to convict linguists and archaeologists of an often improper use of each other's results, partly for a lay public and one which (see p. 405) is not expected to know Latin. Both groups will find the extensive bibliographies useful.

The account of the Indo-Europeanization and later Latinization of Italy reflects certain principles and points of view which Pulgram has treated more explicitly in previous articles. He is severely critical of attempts to correlate the archaeological evidence of one period with the linguistic facts of another and of the use of ethnic names as connecting links. For example, not only has the place of the terramara culture in Bronze Age Italy been exaggerated, but attempts to connect it with later attested ethnic groups or languages are unjustified. His attack on 'the wild growths of prehistoric reconstruction and onomastic charades' (p. 236) reaches an impressive climax in a list of seventeen different and mainly conflicting views on the race and prehistory of the Siculi (pp. 177-9). None the less archaeological evidence, at least in part, leads

him to reject the introduction of Indo-European languages into Italy by large-scale migrations. He attributes the first Indo-European languages in Italy, like Aeneolithic culture and cremation, to 'small incursions of invaders whose cultural and military superiority permitted them to conquer or at least infiltrate the neolithic tribes', on whom they imposed their languages 'for obvious reasons of prestige and cultural pressure' (p. 111). Similar 'infiltrations' brought iron, cremation again, and further Indo-European languages to northern Italy (p. 125). Here Pulgram, while rejecting a *Völkerwanderung*, seems to envisage the movement of socially organized, if small, groups; elsewhere he seems to think 'that a few speakers at a time move beyond the original dialect boundaries *e.g.s.* (p. 153)'. Such a casual drift of individuals seems unlikely to have imposed a language on an alien population, nor is the introduction of Indo-European into Italy more than roughly comparable with the adoption of Latin by the Gauls (p. 111). Pulgram holds that Latin and the other Indo-European languages of Italy were not separately introduced to the peninsula by successive waves of invasion, but were formed in Italy by the superimposition of Indo-European speech on various native substrata (pp. 229-30). This contention, while acceptable in principle, nevertheless ignores the purely linguistic evidence for a possible closer association of the Italic dialects, in contrast to Latin, with a central Indo-European group. Convergence and mutual influence of Italic and Latin, as reflected in structure and vocabulary, and the role of Greek in the earlier period (seen, for example, in *calques sémantiques* in Italic) are not discussed and barely mentioned. The account of the Latinization of Italy can, from lack of documents and statistical material, be little more than a tale of expanding Roman power and the foundation of *coloniae*. In the history of the Latin language the dominant theme is the opposition of the educated and popular forms, grounded in a persistent dichotomy of Roman society; but what proof is there (Claudius-Clodius apart) that linguistic antipathy reached the pitch described on p. 328?

A book so rich in detail and in parts so polemical offers many points for question or dispute. The Neolithic revolution in Europe and Italy is attributed to the arrival of a new human species (pp. 102, 104): is 'species' here meant in the strict biological sense? If so, is the assertion well founded (contrast Childe, *The Prehistory of European Society* [1958], pp. 19-20)? Cretan Linear A script is said, on Sittig's authority, 'perhaps to be derived from the syllabic script of Cyprus' (p. 135); the non-specialist is not informed of the more commonly held contrary view (Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents*, p. 61), nor that the so-called Cypro-Minoan script is here in question. *Safinim* is not what the Samnites called themselves (p. 218), but their country. The origin of Rome from a synoecism of Latin and Sabine communities (Ch. xx), the formulae 'populus Romanus Quiritium', etc. (p. 251), and Pulgram's suggestion (p. 255) that the first three kings of Rome 'were most likely no more than the chieftains of the burg on the Palatine'—these together suggest a conclusion, not made by Pulgram, that *Roma* may have been the name of the Latin settlement on the Palatine before its adoption for the united city. P. 262 mentions 'plebiscites originating in the legislative assembly', but defines 'legislative assemblies' as *comitia centuriata*. Trimalchio did not retire to Rome, as is asserted on p. 306. In a short account of the origins of Latin literature, expressly intended to stress its dependence on Greek, the Greek aspects of Plautine comedy and of satire are strangely underestimated (pp. 351-2).

Pulgram might have written a more purposeful book if he had written either for specialists or for a general public. He has certainly produced a work of wide and detailed learning, which imparts to the reader a good measure of the author's own evident pleasure and enthusiasm in writing it.

Westfield College, University of London

D. M. JONES

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN CLASSICAL GREECE

JEAN RUDHARDT: *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse et actes constitutifs du culte dans la Grèce classique. Étude préliminaire pour aider à la compréhension de la piété athénienne au iv^{me} siècle.* Pp. xii+344. Geneva: Droz, 1958. Paper.

THIS book owes its character, first, to a definite belief about the correct approach to religious history, and secondly to the author's conscientious thoroughness. His initial remarks on method therefore demand special attention. Ancient religions, he says, have been regarded in several ways: as foreshadowing the historian's own ideas; as symbols of natural phenomena or distorted reflections of historical events; as survivals from yet earlier periods; as the unconscious product of social or psychological factors. Any of these accounts may employ comparisons of one religion with another, and a common feature of all is that 'elles visent à rendre compte d'une religion passée par des faits qui lui sont étrangers'. Rudhardt would substitute a method which tries 'comprendre chaque religion en elle-même', postulating that 'les rites et les croyances ont une raison d'être et un sens pour ceux qui les accomplissent ou les professent'.

This internal method demands strict limitation of period. He chooses fourth-century Athens and suggests (following a hint of his professor V. Martin) that the most faithful reflection of its religious acts and beliefs will be found in the orators. Poets and philosophers are problematical witnesses to the behaviour of their contemporaries, but the orators must persuade the ordinary man for practical ends, and introduce religious arguments and customs in a way which will be generally understood and approved. 'Ils nous offrent ainsi des données positives, un sûr moyen d'accès à la vie religieuse des Grecs.'

This promise of an account of fourth-century religion based on the testimony of the orators arouses lively expectation, for there is no doubt (this is in part a personal confession) that this invaluable source has not in the past been given all the attention it deserves. But here we have to reckon with the author's thoroughness. The public addressed by the orators, he continues, knew many things which we too must know if we are to appreciate their evidence. For this essential background we must comb Thucydides, Xenophon, and the inscriptions. But these in turn yield puzzling results: organic cohesion side by side with confusion and uncertainty about the nature of the gods and life after death, and an attitude of piety towards objects to which we attach no religious associations at all. Notions like sacred and profane seem to have no meaning for the Greek, who in his turn distinguishes between concepts like *ιερόν*, *δαίμον*, *ἀγίον*, for which we have no equivalents. The first requirement is a semantic

analysis of Greek religious vocabulary, and for this we must, while still proceeding 'en pleine méthode interne', extend our field of study from prose writers to poets, and from the fourth and fifth centuries to Homer; for, since the average fourth-century Athenian knew Aristophanes and Aeschylus, Hesiod and Homer, their works are an element in his own outlook.

This preliminary study, to discover through a network of associations the meaning of Athenian religious vocabulary, is the theme of the present work. The complete application of the internal method to the study of Athenian religion is reserved for the future.

Such a survey inevitably contains much that is familiar and makes slightly tedious reading. There is little that is new in what is said about *miasma* on p. 44, and when on p. 76 Rudhardt introduces 'une critique extrêmement significative de la mythologie', it turns out to be mainly the old story of Xenophanes and Euripides. In these familiar fields he has not contented himself with referring to the studies of others: indeed the paucity of reference to such studies, save for a few standard works like those of Stengel on ritual, is a striking feature. He starts afresh from the sources, and every statement is documented, generally from a classical author. A Pausanias or a Porphyry, a grammarian or a scholiast, is only allowed to speak when his fuller statement is supported by at least a hint from the earlier age. Occasionally, perhaps, a glance at earlier studies would have been no bad thing. The first chapter, for instance, deals with 'le pur et l'impur', and it would be interesting to know whether Rudhardt had read L. Moulinier's book with that title, and if so, what he thought of it. Nevertheless, his first-hand investigation of the classical usages of many terms of religious thought and cult, even if some of it is well-trodden ground, leads to some illuminating and firmly based conclusions, and if we feel that he has whetted our appetites only to postpone the main meal for another day, we must acknowledge that the orators already form one of the main ingredients of the *hors d'œuvre*.

The book's great merit is its recognition of the immense complexity of its subject and refusal to draw sharp distinctions where none was present in the Greek mind. 'En exposant ces notions comme nous venons de faire par souci de clarté . . . nous altérons le rôle qu'elles jouent dans la pensée religieuse hellénique' (p. 44). Again, we do not find so much a *multiplicity* of divine types as an *uncertainty* as to what the type should be—'le flottement perpétuel de la notion de dieu'. The analysis of cult offered to the Olympians, to heroes, and to the dead leads to the conclusion that no particular word, act, or type of victim can be attached *exclusively* to one or the other. Where late authors correlate types of divinity with types of sacrifice, the classical evidence does not entirely bear them out.¹

Much might be said on points of detail, but scarcely with justice in the brief compass of a review. We are dealing with an author whose watchword might be said to be 'Il faut toujours nuancer'. As leading principles to be extracted from the complexity of phenomena, he singles out the ideas of *order* and *power*. His explanation of much in Greek religion as motivated by the preservation of the *τάξις τῶν δῶν* has a convincing ring and is well supported. Interesting too is his final conclusion about the relations between belief and rite (p. 303):

¹ Here too, perhaps, something approaching a palinode is due from the reviewer, who had already noted the remarks of F. R.

Walton in his review of *The Greeks and their Gods* (Phoenix, 1952, pp. 24 f.).

'Irréductible l'un à l'autre, ils ne trouvent jamais l'un dans l'autre une explication exhaustive.'

The promised second volume should be worth looking out for.

Douning College, Cambridge

W. K. C. GUTHRIE

THE CULT OF CERES AT ROME

HENRI LE BONNIEC: *Le Culte de Cérès à Rome des origines à la fin de la République*. (Études et Commentaires, xxvii.) Pp. 507. Paris: Klincksieck, 1958. Paper, 28 fr.

To the series of French studies of particular deities in Roman religion—Bruhl's *Liber Pater* (1953), Schilling's *Religion romaine de Vénus* (1954), Gagé's *Apollon romain* (1955)—M. Le Bonniec, professor at Nancy, has now added the first full-length study of the cult of Ceres.

For Altheim, Ceres was identical with Demeter from the beginning. Le Bonniec believes—and few will disagree with him—that she is in origin a native Italic deity. He allows no weight to the far-fetched possibility of a connexion between the name Ceres and the name Kar, that of an associate of Demeter at Megara (p. 251; cf. Altheim, *Terra Mater*, pp. 118 f.). Ceres as goddess of marriage cannot be derived from Demeter (Thesmophoros), who never had such a function (80 f.; cf. *T.M.* 125 f.). Δημητριάλητρος, found in a gloss as a translation of *cererosus*, a late equivalent of *cerritus*, is almost certainly invented for the purpose: it does not prove that Demeter caused madness, much less that this is the source of Ceres' power to do so (173 f.; cf. *T.M.* 126 f.). The *ritus oscillorum*, mentioned by Probus, was not part of the *Feriae Sementivae* of Tellus and Ceres: in any case, it had to do with *swings*, not masks, and so is not connected with the masks used in the worship of Demeter (64 f.; cf. *T.M.* 110 ff.). Le Bonniec's own view is that Ceres was one of a small number of personal deities known to the Romans or the Latins from the earliest times. She represents the deified force of growth of *fruges*, though, as far back as we can trace her, she was not limited to her main function—she was also a goddess of marriage and had chthonic associations.

At the same time, Le Bonniec holds that Ceres was really an offshoot of *Tellus*—she was the *vis creatrix Telluris* (34). He bases this view on the frequency of the use of *creo* (≈ *Ceres*) in reference to the creative activities of the earth, and on an alleged subordination of Ceres to Tellus. Against this it must be pointed out that the use of *creo* of the earth, frequent though it is, does not necessarily imply more than an overlapping of functions between Ceres and Tellus, and that the evidence for the subordination of Ceres to Tellus is weak. (a) Le Bonniec maintains (67) that the *Fordicidia*, the festival of Tellus (in April), is older than the *Cerialia* (in the same month), on the ground that a festival deriving its name from its principal rite must be older than one which derives its name from the goddess worshipped. The principle here invoked is of dubious validity—it is that a festival in which the rite appears to be more important than the deity must be older than one in which the deity appears to be more important than the rite;¹ but does that not involve the discredited theory of the

¹ See L. Deubner, *Neue Jahrbücher*, xxvii (1911), 331 f.

development of religion from magic? In any case, the argument would at most establish the greater antiquity of the name *Fordicidia*, not the greater antiquity of the festival, much less any subordination of Ceres to Tellus. (b) A fragment of the calendar of Praeneste mentions a sacrifice celebrated at the temple of Tellus to Tellus and Ceres in that order (*Tellu[ri et Cere]ri in Carinis* (52 f.). (c) (i) On the occasion of the *Feriae Sementivae*—a festival common to the two deities—it is to the temple of Tellus, not that of Ceres, that Varro and his friends go and there discourse on rustic matters (64). This certainly does not imply that the temple of Ceres was not also open on that day. Nor is there any suggestion in the text that Varro went to the temple to worship Tellus and Ceres—in fact, the reason he gives for going is that he was *rogatus ab aeditumo*. If both temples were open, a sufficient reason for choosing that of Tellus, rather than that of Ceres, as the setting for the dialogue would be that Tellus had a picture of Italy on the wall and this provides the starting-point for the dialogue (*R.R.* i. 2. 1–2). (ii) Ovid in his account of the same festival (*Fasti* i. 671) names Tellus before Ceres (the fact that two lines below he reverses the order is dismissed by Le Bonniec as an 'élégance littéraire'—p. 64). (d) 'Fabius Pictor' in his reference to the *sacrum Cereale* again mentions the deities in the order Tellus, Ceres: *flamen sacrum Cereale faciens Telluri et Cereri* (Servius, *ad Geo.* i. 21).

None of this evidence carries us very far towards establishing a subordination of Ceres to Tellus. The most solid element in it is the sacrifice to Ceres at the temple of Tellus referred to in (b). There is also a possible tendency to mention Tellus before Ceres—though in (b) Tellus may be mentioned first simply because the sacrifice was at her temple; and in (d) 'élégance littéraire' alone would require the order *Cereali . . . Telluri et Cereri*, rather than *Cereali . . . Cereri et Telluri*. Neither the frequent use of *creo* of the earth, then, nor such evidence as there is for the subordination of Ceres to Tellus is enough to establish the notion that Ceres is the *vis creatrix Telluris*. And is it a plausible conjecture to suppose that the all-important divine force of growth was looked on by primitive man as an aspect of a more all-embracing divinity, the earth?

Whatever her precise origin, it is at any rate clear that the main function of the native Ceres was in the sphere of agriculture. Le Bonniec examines in detail the relations between her various festivals and the various stages in the farmer's year. The sacrifice *Telluri et Cereri in Carinis* (on the Ides of December)—in later times it included a *lectisternium*—marked the end of the autumn sowing. The *Feriae Sementivae*, a movable feast in the last days of January, was intended to stimulate the forces of growth before the beginning of spring. The *sacrum Cereale* occurred before the first labouring of the soil. The *Cerialia* on 19 April was a propitiation of the goddess at the time of the formation of the ear of corn in its sheath. (In the releasing of foxes with burning torches attached to their backs, the fox represented the spirit of the corn, and the fire of the torches was designed to increase the nurturing warmth which the earth gave to the crop.) The movable festival of the *Ambarvalia* in May—Ceres appears in the private, but not in the public form—served to protect the ripening ears from atmospheric dangers. The offering of the *porca praecidanea* (Cato, *de agri cultura* 134—to be distinguished from the homonymous rite offered to Ceres in expiation of failure to inhumate the dead) was a preliminary to the harvest, serving as an atonement before human intervention in a sacred domain.

Le Bonniec dates the beginning of the assimilation of Ceres to Demeter at

the end of the sixth century, or possibly earlier. He accepts in general the traditional account of the establishment of the cult of Ceres, Liber, and Libera at the beginning of the fifth century (213 ff.). The temple of the cult he convincingly locates on the site of Santa Maria in Cosmedin (it is generally placed on the slopes of the Aventine). The new cult he calls 'nettement hellénique' (244), and believes that it represents the official recognition of the worship of Demeter, assimilated to Ceres, and of Dionysus and Core, identified with Liber and Libera. The triad as such, he maintains, was not introduced ready-made from some Greek source, but was constituted on Roman soil at the time of the establishment of the temple: it was, in fact, the combination of two pre-existent non-marital couples, Liber and Libera, on the one hand, and Ceres and Liber, on the other—Ceres and Liber having been looked on as a couple, partly because of their community of function and partly because of the assimilation of Ceres to Demeter and the identification of Liber with Dionysus. Le Bonniec fails to observe, however, that, if the triad was constituted on Roman soil and partly based on native associations, the Hellenic element is much reduced. His evidence for maintaining that the cult was 'nettement hellénique'—whatever precisely he may mean by that phrase—is, first, that its establishment is linked by Dionysius with the consultation of the Sibylline Books, and, secondly, that the temple was decorated by two Greek artists.

Le Bonniec himself, however, minimizes the part which the Books played in the establishment of the cult. Dionysius, recalling the consultation of the Books in 496 at the instigation of the dictator A. Postumius, writes (vi. 17): *ὡς ἔμαθεν ὅτι τούτους ἐξίλασθαι τοὺς θεοὺς οἱ χρησμοὶ κελεύουσιν, εὐχὰς αὐτοῖς ἐποίησατο . . . ἐὰν εὐετηρία γένηται . . . ναοὺς τε αὐτοῖς καθιδρύσεσθαι καὶ θυσίας καταστήσεσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν*. Le Bonniec insists (215) that this does not mean that the *vowing of the temple* was on the order of the Books: that was something spontaneously added by Postumius himself—what the Books ordered was immediate propitiatory measures, whose performance Dionysius does not record. (This is not convincing—in spite of the problem raised by a conditional vow intervening between the command of the Books and the building of the temple, Dionysius does seem to believe that the building of the temple was ordered by the Books. The only direct evidence, apart from Dionysius, for the events immediately connected with the establishment of the cult is a brief reference to the vow, with no mention of the consultation of the Books, in Tacitus, *Annals* ii. 49.)

Assuming, in spite of Le Bonniec, that the establishment of the temple was on the order of the Books, and granted its decoration by Greek artists, we are still far from proof that the cult was 'nettement hellénique'. It is only a guess that the decorations represented scenes of cult or episodes from the myth of Demeter (261). Nor does Dionysius' statement about what was prescribed by the Books tell us more than that three deities, whom he calls Demeter, Dionysus, and Core, were to be placated: there is, as Le Bonniec recognizes, no command to import a deity from somewhere else (cf., for example, Livy x. 47. 7 *inventum in libris Aesculapium ab Epidauro Romam arcessendum*). Nor is the mere fact, if it be a fact, that the establishment of the cult resulted from the consultation of the Books any indication that it was Hellenic in character. Gagé has recently stressed the important *Italic* element in the early prescriptions of the Books. For him, the cult of the triad is 'merely the consolidation of an old agrarian devotion under semi-hellenised forms' (*Apollon romain*, 215 f.). One thing is

clear—the new cult was under the charge, not of the *xviri sacris faciundis*, but of the *aediles* of the plebs.¹

But, if there is serious doubt about the existence of a substantial Hellenic element in the cult of the triad, there is none in the case of the *Graeca sacra Ceres* (381 ff.). Le Bonniec rightly distinguishes sharply between the two cults. The *Graeca sacra Ceres* were a festival of the *matronae*, introduced *de Graecia* and conducted by Greek priestesses. Their introduction Le Bonniec dates between 249 B.C. and 218 B.C., though his argument for the *terminus post quem* is weak: it is based on the assumption that Proserpina could not be honoured in a ceremony at Rome before the introduction of the *Ludi Tarentini* in 249 B.C. Le Bonniec places the festival in the second half of June or the beginning of July, and interprets it as primarily a festival of first-fruits: mythologically it was celebrated, according to Festus (86 L.), *ob inventionem Proserpinae*. (For Le Bonniec the *rape* of Proserpina symbolizes the autumn sowing and her return (*ἀνοδος* or *καταγωγή*)² the ripeness of the harvest.) The rites were accompanied by a period of sexual abstinence, as Le Bonniec establishes by a convincing interpretation of Ovid, *Amores* iii. 10. (Less convincing is his argument that the abstinence applied also to bread and wine, an argument based primarily on the fact that Festus (144 L.) applies the substantive *castum* to the festival—in the context Festus is referring to *joyful* occasions and presumably uses *castum* in the wide sense of 'festival', not in that of abstinence of any kind.)

Le Bonniec fixes the duration of the abstinence at nine days, on the assumption that Ovid in *Met.* x. 431 ff., while purporting to refer to a festival of Demeter in Cyprus, is in fact using the details of the *Graeca sacra* at Rome. He supports this by a doubtful argument from Livy xxii. 56—the grief after Cannae was so great *ut sacrum anniversarium Ceres intermissum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere est fas, nec ulla in illa tempestate matrona expers luctus fuerat*. According to Le Bonniec, *intermissum sit* implies that the actual celebration of that particular year was interrupted during its course (and that, therefore, the festival must normally have lasted several days). There is, however, an alternative interpretation—it was the *annual succession* of celebrations which was interrupted (for such a use of *intermitto* see Cicero, *Tusculans* i. 69), and this seems preferable. *Sacrum anniversarium Ceres* is not the name of the festival nor does annual recurrence distinguish it from other festivals of Ceres: Livy's reason for calling it *anniversarium* here must be to make it clear that it was the *annual succession* that was interrupted. In any case, had the interruption been during the celebration, he would surely have made more of the pathos. Plutarch, whom Le Bonniec cites in support of his interpretation, seems, rather, to suggest that the celebrations were entirely (*ὅλως*) omitted that year: *βέλτιον ἐφάνη παραλπεῖν ὅλως τὰς τε θυσίας καὶ τὴν πομπήν* (Fabius Maximus 18). And Ovid, though he begins his complaint at the sexual abstinence imposed by Ceres (*Amores* iii. 10) with the vague expression *annua venerunt Cerealis tempora sacri*, later on has one day of abstinence in mind: *festa dies Veneremque vocat cantusque merumque* (l. 47).

¹ Le Bonniec rejects the usual view that the *aediles* derived their name from the *aedes Ceres*: even before the building of the temple the plebs as such had various sanctuaries called *aedes*, and the *aediles* were the officials in charge of these (356 f.).

² Le Bonniec (337 f.) convincingly interprets the *καταγωγή* of Core, celebrated in Sicily at the time of harvest (Diodorus v. 4), as the 'return' of Ceres from exile—not (Nilsson, *Gr. Rel.* i. 444) her descent, symbolizing the putting of the corn in silos.

Le Bonniec's treatment of the origin of Ceres and of the process of her hellenization, while it occupies a large part, is by no means the whole of this scholarly work. He carefully re-examines the whole field of the worship of Ceres in republican times, clearing up many misconceptions and casting a new light on many obscurities in religious history and in history and literature in general. His argument is lucid and reasonable—and the book is almost free from misprints. It is a valuable addition to the literature on Roman religion. It is, perhaps, ungenerous, when so much is given, to ask for more. Yet it must be said that this lengthy work fails to give more than a very vague idea of what the worship of Ceres meant to her worshippers and of the inner meaning of her developing cult. Paradoxically, this is an inevitable consequence of its concentrating of attention on a particular deity: the religious life of the Romans was essentially directed, not to particular deities, but to a pantheon. Ceres had a sphere of her own—though it was not exclusively hers—and she may, even apart from Greek influence, have had some degree of personality, but she was not a clearly defined individual, whose development—from goddess of growth to patroness of the plebs—can be thought of in terms of a developing personality. New elements in the Roman awareness of the divine were linked by association of ideas with the elements represented by the name Ceres. Ceres existed, not in her own right, but as a partial symbol of the Roman's awareness of the divine in his experience.

Queen's University of Belfast

M. J. BOYD

ANCIENT HISTORIOGRAPHY

MARCEL DURRY, KURT VON FRITZ, KRISTER HANELL, KURT LATTE, ARNALDO MOMIGLIANO, JACQUELINE DE ROMILLY, RONALD SYME: *Histoire et historiens dans l'antiquité*. (Entretiens Hardt, vol. iv.) Pp. 300. Vandoeuvres, Geneva: Fondation Hardt (Cambridge: Heffer), 1958. Cloth, 50s. net.

WITH a little art this might have been given the elegance of a Ciceronian dialogue. The assembling of the distinguished scholars 'dans ce beau domaine de la Chandoleine' at the beginning of August 1956 would have been described: Marcel Durry, Kurt von Fritz, Krister Hanell, Kurt Latte, Arnaldo Momigliano, Jacqueline de Romilly, Ronald Syme—and others. The information given at the very end of the present book would have been given at the beginning: the reception of his guests by that modern Maecenas, M. de Hardt, Mont Blanc hidden by cloud, the weather bad. Then some one would have said, 'I have wondered often about the beginnings of historical writing in Greece and, now that we have time for relaxation and this is a subject, M. Latte, about which you are enviably well informed . . .'. So the dialogue would have started. A long talk from Latte on the first morning about the origins of Greek historical writing; an interval for lunch; a siesta perhaps; the opportunity of consulting the splendid library of the Fondation Hardt; and then the reassembling of the speakers to discuss the morning's talk. Seven days in succession were thus enviably spent. After the first day the dialogue was successively inaugurated by papers on 'L'Utilité de l'histoire selon Thucydide'

(Mme de Romilly), 'Die Bedeutung des Aristoteles für die Geschichtsschreibung' (von Fritz), 'Zur Problematik der älteren römischen Geschichtsschreibung' (Hanell), 'The Senator as Historian' (Syme), 'Les Empereurs comme historiens d'Auguste à Hadrien' (Durry); 'Gli Anicii e la storiografia del VI secolo d. C.' (Momigliano).

The proceedings—papers and discussions—are now published. M. Durry, perhaps, emerges as the most vivid personality, reminding us of the important French books which we have neglected and of the 'scientific' French books, like Carcopino's, which we have had the temerity to criticize, and at one point describing most movingly the extent to which in his generation (nowhere more than in France) the life of a scholar has been bedevilled by his country's and the world's misfortunes, by *fortuna*, perhaps by *fatum*. 'Marcel Durry *vel* De annalium scriptore', then, might be the title of this neo-Ciceronian dialogue, which possesses one fascination, indeed, which Cicero's dialogues do not possess. It is a dialogue in four languages. Successive speakers slip engagingly from one tongue to another, masters of their own speech in one as much as in the other.

Here for the first time, M. Durry observes at the close of the debate, is a book which discusses the history of ancient historiography from the beginning to the end, from Hecataeus to Cassiodorus. It is a just claim. And for Greek historical writing the field is wonderfully well covered. There are few questions of importance down to the fourth century and the Hellenistic period which are not noticed, and noticed in a most interesting fashion. For historical writing in Rome the same cannot be said. The earliest republican annalists are discussed, but not the writers who constitute a bigger puzzle still, the annalists who wrote at the time of the Gracchi and later. Livy is altogether neglected, and so are the historians who wrote under the early Empire. Durry's subject is not a particularly important one. The fourth century is not discussed. Momigliano's erudite discussion of the sixth century is on the far fringe of the subject. Which leaves Syme to express views on Tacitus which, novel in 1956, have since become familiar through the publication of his book.

After a short and admirable survey of the beginnings of Greek historical writing and thinking in Ionia Latte's object was to show how in the period 460 to 440, when he wrote, Herodotus stood with one foot in the old world (the way of thinking of the days of nobility and aristocracy) and one, a little gingerly placed, in the new world of rationalization. So, of the two features of Herodotus' writing which Latte chose to stress, one was the oscillation between explanation in terms of rational causation, chiefly personal deliberation (since the *αἰτία πολιτική* was not yet entertained as a concept), and explanation in supernatural terms of fate and doom. In Xerxes' deliberations before his invasion of Greece the two types of explanation are to be found in combination. The spiritual conflict between despotic Persian barbarism and Hellenism, the spirit of freedom, was the second feature of Herodotus' thought which Latte emphasized; this was already a little old-fashioned when the book was published, for the generation which watched the first performance of the *Achaeans* in 425 no longer thought of Persians in that way.

Mme de Romilly chose a splendid subject when she chose 'L'Utilité de l'histoire selon Thucydide', and we should all be grateful to her if she had succeeded in explaining exactly what use Thucydides expected his book to serve. Negatively it is easy enough to show that Thucydides envisaged nothing as

crude as Polybius' 'practical tips for statesmen'—it is strange to think of De Sanctis's warning against Polybiolatry in these days when Polybius, now 'le faux Thucydide', is becoming for certain historians a fashionable Aunt Sally—but, positively, the conclusion that 'au lieu de lois formulées, l'œuvre de Thucydide présente seulement des vraisemblances suggérées' (p. 59) is an answer which has not the ring of finality. As far as Thucydides himself is concerned, facts are made to talk for themselves and generalizations occur only in speeches of orators (a suspect race) who seek to present things as more certain than in fact they are. There are no 'laws of history' in Thucydides. True enough; yet what did Thucydides mean in ii. 48. 3 (a passage which might well have been discussed) when he spoke of the prospective usefulness of his description of the plague: ἀφ' ὧν ἄν τις σκοπῶν, εἴ ποτε καὶ αὖτις ἐπιπέσοι, μάλιστ' ἂν ἔχοι τι προειδώς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν?

The discussion which followed Mme de Romilly's paper was hardly concerned with its subject; it was largely devoted to the question, 'If Treu was right in claiming that Melos was a member of the Athenian empire already in 425, is Thucydides necessarily open to criticism for not mentioning the fact in his account of the Melian debate?' Mme de Romilly expressed concern over the fact that, while Thucydides wrote always in universals and eschewed irrelevant particulars, he chose to mention the fact that in Sicily when Demosthenes was taken, it was in a grove of olive trees (vii. 81. 4). Is it illusion, or does one hear a soft whisper of warning from the ghost of De Sanctis: 'Thucydolatry'?

Von Fritz's paper was the triumph of the session, both in itself and in the critical and corrective discussion which it provoked. The writing of history in Hellenistic times is a difficult subject because none of the histories of the period survives for us to read. Some are reflected, like distortions of invisible objects in a cracked mirror, in Diodorus; and, like a miscellaneous collection of objects in a shopping bag, there are the fragments of the various historians in *F.G.H.* Notoriously battle is joined over the fragment of Duris (*F.G.H.* 76 F. 1) in which he criticized Ephorus and Theopompus on the ground that their writing had neither μέμνησις nor ἡδονὴ ἐν τῷ φράσαι. The verbal reminiscence of Aristotle's *Poetics* 1451^b here is certain. Schwartz claimed that Duris and the 'tragic historians' sought to write history according to Aristotle's rules for tragedy; Ullman countered with the claim that, as Aristotle distinguished Tragedy and History, a Peripatetic (like Duris) who wrote history in tragic terms must have been a deserter from Aristotle to the school of Isocrates, and thought that the origins of 'tragic history' were to be found in Theopompus. Von Fritz comes down, with modifications, on the side of Schwartz. He stresses what is too often forgotten, that Aristotle stated not that tragedy was concerned exclusively with the universal and history with the particular, but that the subject of tragedy was μᾶλλον τὰ καθόλου and that of history μᾶλλον τὰ καθ' ἑκάστον, and he claims that Duris inferred from this what Aristotle certainly never implied, that history would be the better for borrowing some of the features of tragedy. His argument is as follows: (1) Duris was a pupil of Theophrastus; (2) his fellow pupil Praxiphanes wrote a book περὶ ἱστορίας; (3) Duris himself wrote books on Tragedy and Comedy; (4) the Duris fragment criticizes Ephorus and Theopompus by name; (5) its connexion with the *Poetics* passage is inescapable. His conclusion is that Duris and Praxiphanes must have had a 'theory of history'—and that this is the basis both of the Duris

fragment and also of the account of Agathocles in Diodorus, which comes directly from Duris.

In the discussion many excellent points were made. Was it not the new historical subject (spectacular meteoric careers like that of Demetrius Poliorcetes) which provoked the new kind of historical writing (Latte)? Was it not the taste of the reading public, in an age when there was little contemporary tragedy on the stage, which determined the style of contemporary historical writing (Syme)? Has any great historian ever been influenced by a theory of history (Latte)? Good points all of them, as von Fritz was the first to admit; but not strong enough to move him from his own thesis.

This, the latter, part of von Fritz's paper has been stressed here both for its interest and because it was on this that the discussion concentrated; in the earlier part of his paper he discussed admirably Aristotle's historical approach to the sciences and to the study of the life of man in society, and also the Peripatetic foundations of biographical study.

Hanell's discussion of early Roman historical writing adds little to Gelzer's well-known articles on the subject. Had there been papers to follow on Polybius, on the Roman historians of the last century of the Republic, and on the writing of history in the age of Augustus, in addition to Syme's on Tacitus, the book would have had the lasting value for those interested in the writing of Roman history that it has for those interested in the writing of history in Greece and in the Hellenistic world.

Since this conference took place in August 1956, there have been two deaths, neither of which can be sufficiently deplored. The generous M. de Hardt himself has died; and so has Professor A. W. Gomme. Though Gomme was not present at the conference itself, there was hardly a single speaker who did not find himself referring, and in terms of the highest esteem, to *The Greek Attitude to Poetry and History* or to some other of Gomme's writings.

Exeter College, Oxford

J. P. V. D. BALSDON

CRETE AND MYCENAE

Minoica. Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Johannes Sundwall. (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft, 12.) Pp. viii+465; illus. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958. Paper, DM. 84.

ALTHOUGH in a lifetime of scholarly work Sundwall has, as the list of his publications shows, touched many aspects of ancient history and linguistics, his long-standing interest in the Creto-Mycenaean writings has for some time been dominant, and justifies the choice of title and contents for this presentation volume. The thirty-six papers that it contains, contributed by his colleagues and friends and edited by Grumach, almost all fall within the fields of Creto-Mycenaean archaeology, epigraphy, and language. By their number and variety they bear witness to Sundwall's eminence and the extent of his influence; at the same time it is impossible for the reviewer to do justice to the interest and importance of each. Since all cannot be mentioned, reference to any contribution is not to be taken as a judgement of superior merit, but simply as exemplifying some aspect of the volume.

The contributions were sent in at the end of 1956 or the beginning of 1957, in the period following the International Colloquium at Gif and the death of Michael Ventris; *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* was now available to contributors. It is therefore not surprising that Ventris's decipherment of Linear B is a dominant theme. For example, the demonstration that the Linear B tablets are in Greek is the starting-point of the argument which leads Blegen to suggest a re-examination of the archaeological evidence for the date of the Knossos tablets in Linear B and the Mycenaean occupation that they presuppose. From the other articles which accept the decipherment it is clear that those who wish to exploit the information contained in the tablets are not disposed to wait on further progress in textual interpretation. While P. Chantraine, V. Georgiev, W. Merlingen, and others concern themselves with details of language and interpretation, J. Puhvel considers the light thrown by the tablets on 'Helladic Kingship and the Gods', and F. J. Tritsch, in a long paper on 'The Women of Pylos', adds further touches to the picture of the Pylian kingdom in the days which led to its fall. This method of historical reconstruction can provide useful hypotheses for the further interpretation of the texts, which will be fully understood only in the context of the circumstances in which they were written. Of the contributors who write on the other Cretan scripts most accept the Ventris decipherment and apply its values to Linear A; for example, P. Meriggi and E. Peruzzi, who makes effective use also of the continuity of scribal practice from Linear A to Linear B. E. Grumach, on the other hand, in a paper which well illustrates his great familiarity with the Cretan documents, denies the validity of an ascent from the latest to the earlier scripts, and applies ideographic interpretations similar to those which hindered the decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphic script.

Among the opponents of Ventris's decipherment A. J. Beattie holds a special place. In his contribution he writes from his general standpoint, that any appearance of Greek that has been wrung from the tablets was put into them by Ventris. If this were so, might it not be possible by a different set of syllabic values to put some other language into them? It is pertinent to recall that if Ventris himself failed to read the tablets as Etruscan, it was not for want of trying.

A considerable number of contributions deal with problems of Cretan and Mycenaean archaeology. Most of these, and some of the linguistic and epigraphical articles, are illustrated with photographs, figures, and plans. As these are neither indexed nor numbered consecutively through the volume, their number could be found only by a tedious page-to-page count.

For those who enjoy puzzles, S. Luria has prefixed to his paper on the methodology of decipherment a German sentence written syllabically according to spelling rules similar to those of Linear B, and states his conviction 'daß nur wenige von den deutschsprechenden Lesern imstande sein werden, den Satz zu entziffern'. In fact its decipherment is not so difficult as Luria thinks, and it is of considerable methodological interest, and relevant to the case of Linear B, that the easiest words to decipher are the longest. *popeßotele petetu* can hardly be anything but 'von besonderer Bedeutung', whereas *pu* is an enigma—'für', 'Fuß', 'Spur', etc.—to which only the context, if clear enough, can provide a solution. Critics of the Ventris decipherment should accordingly remember that in the longer words ambiguity due to the spelling rules is not multiplied but mitigated.

The editor and his fellow contributors deserve praise for a splendid volume, in which (unlike some *Festschriften*) a comparatively limited field of study imposes welcome coherence on the diversity of subjects and points of view.

Westfield College, University of London

D. M. JONES

SOLON

AGOSTINO MASARACCHIA: *Solone*. Pp. viii+396. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1958. Paper, L. 2,600.

THIS is a disappointing book. In spite of its length it gives neither a fully documented and up-to-date conspectus of recent studies of Solon nor a new, consistent, and thoroughly argued reconstruction by the author himself. It falls into three rather ill-co-ordinated parts. The first (of 78 pages) deals with the ancient tradition about Solon. Its main theme is that Solon as the great 'liberal' statesman is largely a figment of the imagination put about by moderate politicians at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries B.C. In labouring this point the author has too many purely descriptive passages on the literature and politics of the time (four pages, for example, wholly negative so far as Solon is concerned, on Ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* and six on Theramenes and the democratic restoration of 403). On the other hand, he ignores at this point an absolutely fundamental question, raised in acute form by Hignett in ch. 1 of his *History of the Athenian Constitution*, the question how far historians of the fifth and fourth centuries could have arrived at the truth about Solon if they had been bent on doing so, and in particular what documents of pre-Solonian and Solonian origin survived to their time. Any modern writer on Solon must state exactly where he stands on this vital issue. Another prior question of almost equal importance is the relative value to be attached to the accounts of Solon in Aristotle's *Politics* and in his *Ath. Pol.* You may, with Hignett, prefer the *Politics* or you may hold that the *Ath. Pol.* gives a deliberate correction based on better information. But Masaracchia obscures this fairly straight issue by treating these two accounts in isolation, that of the *Ath. Pol.* for some reason several pages before that of the *Politics*.

The second part (of 122 pages) deals with Solon's life and political work. Here not one of the controversial issues involved has been advanced a step nearer solution by more incisive formulation or more fruitful hypothesis than was available before. Indeed on several of these issues Masaracchia seems unaware of recent discussions. For example, his account of the agrarian reform stands or falls with the conviction that land was inalienable before and after Solon. Yet he neither argues the case for inalienability himself nor does he refer to Fine's exhaustive pleading for it in *Hesperia*, Supp. ix (1951). The dating of the earliest Athenian and other coinages is vital for his general account of Solon's work in the economic field: again no full discussion and no reference either to Robinson in *J.H.S.* lxxi (1951), 156 ff. or to Kraay in *Num. Chron.* xvi (1956), 43 ff. In his general thesis that Solon was of little account as a statesman Masaracchia casts doubt even on the one achievement which Hignett had left him, the attack on the Eupatrid monopoly of the archonships. Yet he fails to clarify his concept of Eupatridhood and makes no reference here to Wade-Gery's searching treatment of the question in *C.Q.* xxv (1931), 1 ff. In the same

context one looks in vain for a succinct discussion of the date at which property qualifications were first reckoned in money rather than produce and for an unequivocal statement whether citizens without land were or were not *de iure* members of the *ekklesia* either before or after Solon's reforms. Masaracchia is not even consistent with himself. He accepts, rather strangely in view of his general scepticism, Solon's institution of the *Boule* of 400. This he describes on p. 174 as denoting a radical change in the relationships between the political and social forces at Athens; a curiously isolated progressive item in an otherwise conservative programme.

Masaracchia's assessment of Solon's political work suffers from a too exclusive attention to matters constitutional. In a sense the very word 'constitutional' is an anachronism as applied to the time of Solon. He underrates the economic measures attributed to Solon outside the agrarian sphere and even more so the various measures aimed at freeing the individual from the tyranny of the powerful family. He does not even mention Solon's so-called testamentary law (nor, therefore, Gernet's indispensable article on it in *R.E.G.* xxxiii [1920], 123 ff., 249 ff.); he lays quite inadequate stress on the exceptional liberalism of the abolition of slavery for debt (how exceptional is eloquently set out on pp. 365 ff. of Glotz's great work, *La Solidarité de la Famille dans le Droit Criminel en Grèce*, another absentee from Masaracchia's oddly restricted bibliography¹) and he fails to note the close connexion between this abolition and the development of the *graphe* as providing protection through legal process for those unjustly held in, or reduced to, slavery, a protection which the *dike* by its very nature could not afford. These measures alone would justify a belief in Solon as a full-blooded liberal statesman rather than the wizened 'sage', peddling moral platitudes from Delphi, whom Masaracchia, sometimes in spite of himself, would have us accept.

The third part (of 165 pages) deals with Solon's poetic work. It translates each fragment in turn and discusses it in detail textually and exegetically. This is useful, but it might have been done more shortly so that more space would have been available for a fuller treatment of the problems raised in the second part.

There are indexes of passages cited, of names, and of Greek terms.

Merion College, Oxford

A. R. W. HARRISON

PERICLES

KARL DIENELT: *Die Friedenspolitik des Perikles*. Pp. 174; 4 plates. Vienna: Rohrer, 1958. Cloth.

THIS book is not one more biography of Pericles; the author is merely concerned to argue a particular thesis. In his view, from about 450 B.C. Pericles was no expansionist but persistently sought to create the peaceful conditions that would secure for Athens material and cultural prosperity. His ideal is to be found in the proposals recorded only by Plutarch (*Per.* 17) which Dienelt

¹ Other notable absentees: G. Forrest in *B.C.H.* lxxx (1956), 33 ff. (on the First Sacred War); Gernet in *Studi Paoli* (1956), 347 ff. (on the *horoi*); Wade-Gery in *A.B.S.A.*

xxxvii (1936-7), 263 ff. (on *epheis*); Bonner and Smith, *The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle*, i. c. 5, ii Index s.v. Solon (on the judicial reforms).

construes as designed to reconcile and unite the Greeks, perhaps in a Panhellenic league based on the representative principle. But, though this plan foundered on Spartan suspicions, he had succeeded in making a peace with Persia that demarcated spheres of interest, and in 446 the same principle was applied to Greek affairs. The peace of that year was not the result of Athenian weakness or war-weariness but accorded with Pericles' policy; to secure it, he made concessions that were not forced upon Athens, and the arbitration clause is proof that he did not intend to resume expansion, once Athens had recovered. (Dienelt lays inordinate emphasis on this clause, though admitting that arbitration was known before; he never pauses to ask himself to what impartial state the two powers who divided most of Greece could have submitted their differences, and whether the clause is not conventional and without practical significance.) In the years after 446 Athenian power did not grow, nor did it menace Sparta; nor was Pericles to blame for the outbreak of war. It was Corinth that broke the treaty; Athens could not afford to reject Corcyra's plea for help, but in making only an epimachy, she showed respect for the spirit as well as the letter of the treaty, and she responded to Corinth's illegal intervention at Potidaea not by arms, but by merely passing the Megarian decree. (I do not accept Dienelt's dating of this decree; cf. *A.J.P.* lxxii. 269 ff.; but granting it to be correct, I do not see why Athens should have retaliated against Megara for wrongs done by Corinth.) To the last Pericles offered arbitration, and though he would not make concessions that jeopardized Athens' security, he did not want war: his strategy shows that he hated bloodshed, and aimed only at a peace that would restore the *status quo ante*.

The evidence for Pericles' actions and intentions in these years is so meagre that it is not easy either to accept or to refute this interpretation. Dienelt's exposition is not indeed made more convincing by his failure to discuss many problems in detail, nor by his apparent ignorance of all modern work not written in German, for instance the essays of Wade-Gery (*J.H.S.* lii = *Essays in Greek History*, pp. 239 ff.) and Ehrenberg (*A.J.P.* lxxix) on Thurii. Thus he dogmatically treats the foundation of Thurii as of merely cultural significance, because the colony was not purely Athenian. But, as at Amphipolis, only a large colony could have survived local hostility; and Athens had not the manpower to provide herself all the settlers needed. She could, however, hope to find enough colonists well disposed to her. At Thurii Herodotus and Lysias were doubtless enrolled in the Dorian tribe and democratic refugees in the Boeotian. Thurii is not only evidence for Athenian interest in the West before 433; the treaties with Rhegium and Leontini were renewed, not first made, in 433/2 (*contra* p. 35), and if Thuc. i. 44. 2 is anachronistic (p. 36), what of i. 36. 2? Amphipolis, the Pontic expedition (if rightly dated to this period, *contra A.T.L.* iii. 114 ff.), the alliance with Corcyra itself could all have seemed at Sparta proof of the resurgence of Athenian power and ambition; and even if this fear was unwarranted, there is no need with Dienelt to reject Thucydides' explanation of the cause of the war. Pericles' strategy is not so easy to understand as Dienelt thinks; and even if he was opposed to all risky extensions of the empire *during* the war, can we be so sure that he would have been against exploiting Sparta's loss of prestige resulting from a peace by which the empire remained intact?

But, according to Dienelt, we may not even speak of an empire, nor of Pericles as an imperialist; Thucydides has imposed on Pericles' speeches his own conceptions of naked power-politics. I have some sympathy with this view

of Thucydidean speeches (cf. now H. Strasburger, *Hermes*, lxxxvi. 17 ff.)—though I doubt if any holder of it may select passages from Pericles' speeches out of context as genuine utterances, just because they suit his own preconceived notions. For reasons given by de Ste Croix (*Historia*, iii. 1 ff.) and unknown to Dienelt, it is certainly right to deny that the empire was a 'tyranny'; and there is some force in Dienelt's own arguments that Athens still kept her 'allies' free of Persian rule, and that the conclusion of *symbolai* is evidence for her continued respect for right as contrasted with might. But when he says that there was no league (*Bund*) just because of 'a certain lack of organization', he forgets that Athens let the old *synodoi* lapse, just how, when, and why he does not explain. He prefers to speak of a hegemony, not of an empire, but without mentioning that the 'allies' were no longer consulted on policy and that their funds were appropriated, willy-nilly, for Athens' own buildings and fleet. Revolts are almost ignored; and he even claims Thucydides' support for the statement that there was never any forcible subjugation of the allies (p. 110); has he read i. 98–99 (cf. i. 75. 4; iii. 10. 6; vi. 82, 3, etc.)? In general he has little use for Thucydides, and, ignoring his repeated statements, can even aver that the conception of an *arche* was foreign not only to Pericles but to Greek thinking as a whole (p. 119)! He never cites inscriptions, and perhaps documents in which the Athenians speak in such terms (e.g. *S.E.G.* x. 55; Tod, 72) have not come his way.

For Dienelt Pericles is a statesman who deliberately strove to foster 'Periclean' civilization in peace. Whatever may be thought of this conclusion (and in a useful dissertation, *Perikles bei Plutarch* [Frankfurt-am-Main, 1957], pp. 77–79, E. Meinhardt has argued that the notion that Pericles was interested in 'culture' is purely modern), it cannot be established by mere repetition, or without adequate knowledge of ancient sources and modern discussions.

Oriel College, Oxford

P. A. BRUNT

EPAMINONDAS

MARCELLO FORTINA: *Epaminonda*. Pp. 115. Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1958. Paper, L. 1,600.

EPAMINONDAS has not, it seems, been the subject of a monograph for little short of a century, and the Pauly-Wissowa article by H. Swoboda (*R.E.* v. 2674–2707) is more than fifty years old. Hence this re-examination of his life and achievements is by no means premature, even though the amount of new evidence is negligible. In some respects the book fulfils its purpose more than adequately. It is based on a thorough knowledge of the sources and of relevant modern works; it is excellently constructed; it achieves an admirable balance in sketching the historical background to the career of Epaminondas in sufficient but not excessive detail. Nevertheless, while the absence of extravagant hypotheses is to be welcomed, the extreme caution of the author and his lack of confidence in his own judgement, which seems sound enough when he chooses to rely upon it, impair the value of his work. His treatment of controversial issues is often rendered unsatisfactory by excessive dependence on the views of other scholars. In some cases he seems reluctant to commit himself to the expression of any definite opinion; in others, where his text shows which of two

or more interpretations he favours, a note merely summarizes divergent views without any indication of his reasons for accepting one and rejecting another. The adoption of a cautious attitude towards the question of the part played by Epaminondas in the rise of Thebes down to the battle of Leuctra is doubtless justifiable because of the inconclusiveness of the evidence. A long and clearly argued note is devoted to the trial, or trials, of Epaminondas (pp. 52-56), and here Fortina reaches unequivocal conclusions on a disputed problem, but his own contribution to the discussion seems to be slender. In his chapter on the naval expedition of Epaminondas he does not really answer the crucial question whether or not its results compensated for the severe strain imposed on the limited resources of Boeotia.

The literary tradition on the career of Epaminondas betrays the influence not only of contemporary partisanship but also of rhetoric and moral philosophy, so that much of the extant evidence is suspect. It is unfortunate that the *Epaminondas* of Plutarch is lost and that little is known about it despite the use made of it by Pausanias: though doubtless as prejudiced as the *Pelopidas*, it must have been more detailed than any surviving account and would have provided information from which a clearer picture of Epaminondas could have been formed. Fortina fully appreciates the shortcomings of the evidence and with good reason rejects some of it, especially anecdotes. Where, however, so much depends on the interpretation of unreliable sources, he might with advantage have included a general discussion of the principal authorities, with an evaluation of each. Only in his concluding chapter does he express the over-simplified view that, with the sole exception of Xenophon, the authorities, misled by local Theban tradition, present an unrealistic and idealized portrait of Epaminondas (pp. 108-9). On points of detail his treatment of the sources is more impressive, though Plutarch is twice described as 'storico' (pp. 9 and 99 n. 48), a designation that Plutarch himself emphatically disclaims.

The general assessment of Epaminondas in the final chapter is conventional. Full justice is done to his military genius as tactical innovator and strategist, which is beyond dispute. In estimating the quality of his statesmanship Fortina adheres to the view, now almost canonical, that he lacked vision and originality, that he sought only to secure for Thebes the supremacy previously enjoyed by Athens and Sparta by imitating the outworn imperialistic methods that led to disorder and exhaustion throughout Greece. This verdict, which does not seem to receive much support from the evidence assembled in the preceding chapters, is open to doubt. In the democracy established after the liberation of Thebes Epaminondas could secure the adoption only of such measures as were approved by a majority, and his personal responsibility for the Theban failure to produce political stability in Greece has been too readily assumed by his critics. He was never in a position to dictate Theban foreign policy, which was at times controlled by his political enemies led by Menecleidas. Their power to sway public opinion against him is attested by the fact that, despite his military triumphs, he was impeached at least once and excluded several times from election to the college of Boeotarchs. Although the fundamental basis of their disagreement with him is not clear, these opponents probably consisted mainly of narrow imperialists in whose opinion his policy was dangerously liberal in being designed to benefit not only Thebes but also the whole of Greece. An intellectual with a philosophical training, Epaminondas was credited in antiquity with Panhellenic ideals; and though this tradition is rejected by

Fortina (p. 108 with n. 9), there must have been many who felt with good reason that Epaminondas in the Peloponnese and Pelopidas in Thessaly were creating political organizations which might all too soon be strong enough to dispense with Theban protection.

University of Manchester

H. D. WESTLAKE

ITALIAN AGRICULTURE UNDER TRAJAN

VITO ANTONIO SIRAGO: *L'Italia agraria sotto Traiano*. (Univ. de Louvain, Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie, iv. 16.) Pp. xxi+339; 2 maps. Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1958. Cloth, 320 B.fr.

CORRESPONDENCE between Pliny and his friends, a variety of passages from his uncle's *Natural History*, a few isolated scraps concerning imperial policy from such authors as Suetonius, gleanings from the poets, and a large number of inscriptions, some of which are of little value while others need careful interpretation, constitute the bulk of the direct evidence for Italian agriculture in the time of Trajan. How far is it possible to go towards a reconstruction of an historical theme whose importance is obvious and whose effect not only on the economy but also on the politics and philosophy of Trajanic Rome is fundamental?

Perhaps not as far as the author of this exhaustive study. Sirago's account, introduced by a chapter on the history of private property in the first century A.D., does at some points give the impression that the writer has not entirely appreciated the difficulties inherent in his material. Listing the evidence on topics which include the types of property and property owners encountered in Pliny's Letters, *ager publicus* and *ager privatus* in the time of Trajan, and the management of estates and their products can be effective, and certain particular conclusions drawn from such evidence may be valuable and instructive; generalizing on such themes as depopulation and imperial interference is dangerous and possibly useless unless the treatment is focused at all points on the quality of the evidence (see the important remarks of Finley in *J.R.S.* xlviii [1958], 156 f.).

For Sirago in his survey is endeavouring to do more than catalogue. That part of his book which concerns itself with collecting the evidence is, so far as it has been possible to check it, solid and rewarding. There is a valuable index of passages cited, the only index apart from a list of contents and an extensive bibliography, and there is also a competent treatment throughout of such themes as Pliny's estates and *villae* and those of his contemporaries (although the lists which appear on pp. 96 f. of notables in the first and second centuries A.D. seem questionable for their relevance), the change from working estates for rent to *locatio partiaria*, the growth of the *coloni* system, the difficulties of marketing products and the impossibility of compensating for dearth in one area by utilizing over-production in another. All these topics and others, for example the agrarian capacities of different parts of Italy and the decadence of certain Italian wines, are carefully documented and presented.

In concerning himself, however, with inferences from this collected material Sirago is less happy. To take but one example, the preponderance of males over females among the beneficiaries in the *tabula Veleias* (*I.L.S.* 6675), even if

Trajan's wishes can be assumed to find expression in all the details of the *tabula*, it seems hardly satisfactory to infer *uno scopo militare* when this is supported by the view that what Trajan was trying to ensure was an adequate supply of officers; *i ragazzi poveri* are difficult to imagine in this role (although certainly military considerations are still linked with agrarian developments in the late first and early second centuries A.D. and it would be unwise to ignore this when, say, thinking about Appian's account of the policy of Tiberius Gracchus). Similarly, the author is not at his best when trying to probe the true nature of Italian agriculture, so that his arguments for depopulation as the principal factor in its decline, attended closely by widespread imperial interference, draw attention to important themes without at the same time convincing the reader that the quality of the evidence, especially the epistolary, has been properly understood or that the inferences drawn are valid (e.g. that in the first century A.D. the emperors were hostile to latifundists in central and southern Italy). In the general context of agricultural labour the remarks of Brunt (*J.R.S.*, vol. cit., 164 f.) in his review and discussion of works on ancient slavery afford a useful antidote.

This study, then, while offering a useful collection of the evidence, is one to be treated with caution. English readers may prefer to search elsewhere for an interpretation which attempts to do justice to Italian agriculture of the time of Trajan.

Pembroke College, Oxford

P. J. CUFF

RELIGION AND REVOLUTION IN ROMAN AFRICA

JEAN PAUL BRISSON: *L'Autonomisme et Christianisme dans l'Afrique romaine*. Pp. 456. Paris: de Boccard, 1958. Paper.

THE study of Christianity in Roman North Africa has attracted some of the best French classical scholars. Gsell, Monceaux, de Labriolle, and Leschi are just a few of those who have left their mark in this field. It is enough to say that Brisson's work continues this great tradition of scholarship in full measure. What has been needed has been a scholar who would accept most of Monceaux's research on matters such as the chronology of the Donatist controversy and the writings and personalities of the Donatist leaders, but would look more closely at the evidence from the standpoint of North Africa, and, at the same time, fuse the religious and economic aspects of Donatism into a single whole.

Such is the task which the author has set himself and he has had a very large measure of success. This is an excellent work, the product of years of fruitful research, and if one is not doing an injustice to the author's earlier *Gloire et Misère de l'Afrique chrétienne*, published in 1949, of trial and error also. Despite the somewhat rigid conditions imposed by the French doctorate thesis, this is easy to read, as well as being profoundly learned and well documented. It combines originality with recognition of the fine work done by its predecessors, and the conclusions are unlikely to be challenged in the foreseeable future.

The author accepts the view, which is shared by his present reviewer, that Donatism combined religious schism with political and social revolution. He

starts, however, with the religious aspects of Donatism, and he never allows these to become subordinate in the ensuing struggle. The reader is thus faced at the outset with a long and detailed discussion on the exact nature of Cyprian's doctrine of the Church. What Cyprian meant by the *unitas* of the Church was its uniqueness and not merely its unity. For the mutual fellowship of the bishops and the moral unity of the Church he uses the terms *concordia* and *consensio*. The author is able to trace what appears to be a direct link between Tertullian's exposition of the uniqueness of God, contained in the *Adversus Praxean*, and Cyprian's concept of the uniqueness of the Church. This further evidence for connexions between the two African theologians is important in establishing the continuity of African Church doctrine. On the uniqueness of the Church depended the sacramental purity of the ministry on which Cyprian and his colleagues insisted during the Baptismal Controversy. As the Church alone possessed the water of baptism, no one who was outside it, through schism or impurity, could bestow it (cf. Cyprian, *Letter* 69. 2). This was also to be the Donatist view.

Perhaps the writer insists at too great a length (121 pages) on these points, for, after all, a great deal of work has been done in the last sixty years on the theology of Cyprian. But he does show beyond any doubt that the Donatists were faithful followers of the African Church tradition represented by Tertullian and Cyprian, and that it was the Catholic (or, more properly, Caecilianist) party who deviated from it. Though one may miss references to the work of the Italian scholars Buonaiuti and Pincherle and a discussion of the place of Tyconius in the Donatist tradition, the account of the religious controversy during the fourth century is well done and interesting. It is an excellent corrective to Monceaux's anxiety to vindicate the orthodox standpoint.

The final section of this work, which the author calls 'L'Impatience populaire', is the most valuable of the whole book. Here one feels that he is truly at home. If one does not agree with some of his detailed conclusions, for instance concerning the Circumcellions, the way in which he links up doctrine and social unrest into the single framework of Donatism is admirable. There seems no doubt at all that the same tradition that demanded the Christian's separation from the world and things of the world should equate riches with sin, and what perhaps is more to the point, with actual contempt for the poor. By the fourth century the 'agon' of the martyr against the persecuting authorities has been extended to the struggle against grinding oppression in the present world. The Circumcellion leaders were also *duces sanctorum*.

Extremely valuable in this connexion is the author's discussion of Commodian. In his earlier *Gloire et Misère de l'Afrique chrétienne* he had placed Commodian squarely, and conveniently, in the gap between the death of Cyprian in 258 and the outbreak of the Great Persecution in 303. This may well be the right place, but it would be unsafe to rest a thesis on it. What is important, however, and what the author brings out so convincingly, is that Commodian, whether he lived in the third or the fifth century, represents a living tradition of Western Christian thought which found its most vigorous form in Africa but was not confined to it. The career of Parmenian, the Gaul or Spaniard who succeeded Donatus at Carthage, and the writings of Lucifer of Cagliari show that characteristic tenets of Donatist theology were shared by many Christians in the West who did not always accept Donatus.

All in all, the author has made a notable contribution not only to the study

of the Donatists, but towards an understanding of the origins of Western theology in general. He shows, too, why the puritanical and apocalyptic elements in the early Christian message were so acceptable to the country-folk of Roman Africa during the fourth century. This is a book which will be of great interest to both the student of the late classical world and the theologian. Indeed it is greatly to the credit of the author that he shares both disciplines which are essential to the study of this period.

Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge

W. H. C. FREND

THE IMPACT OF ROMAN ON NATIVE IN NORTH BRITAIN

Roman and Native in North Britain. Edited by I. A. RICHMOND. Pp. x+174; 8 plates, 8 maps, 6 figs. Edinburgh: Nelson, 1958. Cloth, 18s. net.

THE six studies contained in this chronological survey of the impact of Roman on Native in northern Britain are ultimately based on the contributions of five scholars to the Dumfries conference of 1953. The material drawn upon is mainly, but by no means entirely, archaeological. The angle of approach is new. And the book will become a classic—indispensable to every student of the history of this island during the first four centuries of our era.

Professor Stuart Piggott leads off with a brilliant analysis of British economy during this period. To what extent, he asks, could native resources enable the invading and occupying Roman armies to carry out their normal practice of living off the land? As he proceeds to show, this was feasible enough in the south and south-eastern areas of Britain, where a system of mixed farming, of which corn-growing was the predominant feature, had been in operation for several centuries before the landing of the legions. But as the distribution of grain-storing pits and of rotatory querns reveals, north and west of a line roughly represented by the Jurassic Ridge and the Roman Fosse Way there flourished a different economy, essentially pastoral and, to some extent at least, nomadic in character. Once beyond that line the Roman armies, to whom bread was the veritable staff of life, depended for supplies on elaborate arrangements for transporting corn by land and water from the Lowland Zone. In later Roman times (while some corn-growing seems to have developed in what is now Yorkshire) the northern pastoral way of life reacted on imperial authority, which encouraged the woollen industry both in the north and also in the south, where sheep-breeding to a large extent replaced the hitherto intensive corn-production. Professor Piggott sees a symbol of the north-British herdsmen and shepherds in the relief of a triad of *Genii Cucullati* at Housesteads. He might have added that these attractive godlets appear in art at several other sites along the Hadrianic frontier and that there was a particular devotion to them in the Cotswolds of Gloucestershire, just on and beyond the boundary-line between the agricultural and pastoral regions of the province.

The second study, that of Mr. John Clarke on 'Roman and Native, A.D. 80-122', is the most provocative and controversial of the series. Here we may, perhaps, detect more than a tinge of 'nationalistic' sentiment, for the grim picture that he paints of the Roman attitude to native peoples is palpably one-sided. For instance, he follows (p. 31) *C.A.H.* x. 348, where it is stated on

Dio's authority that Augustus all but blotted out the Alpine Salassi after his conquest of them in 25 B.C., ignoring the fact that Dio does not say that they were exterminated and that an inscription of 23 B.C. from Aosta records a dedication to the Emperor by *Salassi incol(ae) qui initio se in colon(iam) con(tulerunt)* (*Rendiconti della R. Accad. dei Lincei*, ser. 5, xxv [1916], p. 4, fig.). Some of Clarke's interpretations (pp. 38-39) of the reliefs on Trajan's Column are dubious and misleading. He does not, for example, make it clear that it is auxiliary, i.e. 'native', Roman soldiers who are holding up the severed heads of Dacians to an emperor whose expression and gesture register disgust at the barbarous proceeding; nor does he note that on the defences of the Dacian village that is being fired the skulls of captives, presumably Roman, are exposed on poles. Again, there is no proof at all that the two Dacians shown within a fort, next to the surrender-scene, are 'whispering Quislings'. The suggestion (p. 46) that Agricola indulged in head-hunting in south-west Scotland is purely gratuitous.

Nevertheless, Clarke's historical narration is clear, comprehensive, and vigorously written, as is also Mr. Gillam's contribution, which carries the story on to A.D. 197. Here we find a number of interesting and illuminating things. For instance, it is pointed out that it was at the western end of Hadrian's Wall, where the outlier-forts were posted, that trouble from the north was expected: the tribes beyond the Wall to the east may have been friendly and even in treaty-relationship with Rome (pp. 61, 63). While accepting E. Fabricius's and R. G. Collingwood's theory that some British tribesmen and their families were deported during the Antonine period to the Upper German frontier, Gillam insists that there is no convincing evidence that this entailed the depopulation of the inter-Walls region (pp. 65-66). What, then, does the much-discussed phrase *summotis barbaris* in S.H.A., *Antoninus Pius* 3. 4 signify? Surely it means that the Britons in this region, now comprised within the boundaries of the Empire, had become *Romani* and ceased to be *barbari*. As Gillam wrote a few pages earlier, apropos of the Hadrianic barrier, 'the peoples on either side of this frontier were in different worlds' (p. 61); barbarity was banished to the north of the Forth-Clyde isthmus; and it was the strain that the controlling of those *barbari* imposed upon the garrison of Britain that caused the failure of the Antonine system, which was neither ill-conceived nor faultily constructed (p. 87). One of the most original features of Gillam's chapter is his ingenious use of 'dress-fasteners', small bronze objects with which the clothes of the unromanized folk of the north and west were held in place, to illustrate direct trade-connexions between south-western England and south-eastern Scotland during the second century.

Dr. Steer's contribution is a convincing assessment of the Severan work of reorganization on the northern frontier. Not only were the garrisons on Hadrian's Wall substantially strengthened, but its outpost-forts were rebuilt or reoccupied and a system of 'defence in depth' beyond the Wall was thus created. This implied the prohibition of native fortifications—Traprain Law was the exception; a state of peace among the rural tribesmen; and the maintenance of trade and generally improved relations between Roman and Native. Local recruiting was introduced; extensive extra-mural *vici* developed, not only in connexion with the Wall-forts, but also with those beyond the Tyne-Solway line; and the Scottish Lowland tribes were 'invited to become partners in the common cause of preserving peace' (p. 110). Incidentally, the

dedication by Lossio Veda at Colchester is not an altar (p. 109), but an inscribed bronze panel (*tabella ansata*).

On 'Roman and Native in the Fourth Century and After' Professor Richmond writes with the lucidity, persuasiveness, and authority that always characterize his work. Among the points of outstanding interest is the suggestion (pp. 114-15) that the name of the units described by Ammianus Marcellinus as *areani* need not be emended to *arcani*: the name signifies 'the men of the sheepfolds (*areae*)' beyond the Wall; and the Knag Burn gateway in Hadrian's Wall was made to permit and to regulate trade-traffic between the regions that the Wall separated. The period was also marked by the further growth of large, spreading *vici* at the forts south of the Wall. In this chapter there is a fresh discussion of the significance of Constans' British expedition in 343 and of the *barbarica conspiratio* of 367-9. The reconstruction, following the latter, on the northern frontier is characterized as 'clumsy botching'; from this point onwards Roman forces ceased to be effective as protectors of the soldier-settlers beyond the Wall; and the new native dynasties, bound to the Empire by treaties, now emerged.

Chapter v and its Appendix, also the work of Professor Richmond, contain a very valuable description and critique of the ancient geographical sources for Britain north of Cheviot. A full bibliography and a serviceable index round off the book.

The eight photographic plates are of high quality. But one wishes that the relevance to the text of the tombstone of Salmanes (pl. 6), of the Bewcastle silver plaque of Cocidius (pl. 7), and of the Murrell Hill tombstone (pl. 7) could have been explicitly elucidated.

Neunham College, Cambridge

J. M. C. TOYNBEE

CLASSICAL EDUCATION IN BRITAIN

M. L. CLARKE: *Classical Education in Britain, 1500-1900*. Pp. viii+234; 1 plate. Cambridge: University Press, 1959. Cloth, 32s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR CLARKE justifies this book as a contribution to the history of culture, and as of interest to teachers of the classics naturally interested in the history of what he calls their trade. He remarks that 'since in the past most of those illustrious for literature, and for other things as well, have studied the classics, a special importance attaches to this subject', and that 'if a knowledge of the past can assist towards an understanding of the present, my book may be of some value to those who are concerned with shaping our educational policy'. On the same page he belies his own tentative claim by admitting 'I do not feel competent to survey the present-day educational scene, much less to suggest solutions for its problems'. He further reduces the value of his contribution by ending at 1900, 'since the historian shrinks from what he cannot see in perspective'. There is far too much shrinking all the way through, and the general tone is unduly subfusc. None the less teachers of classics will find a good deal of interesting information plainly catalogued.

After noting that Julius Agricola was the first promoter of classical studies in Britain, Clarke passes rapidly to Colet's foundation of St. Paul's in 1509,

largely influenced by Erasmus. Many details are given about curricula in different grammar schools and universities in successive generations, with notes on the textbooks current, on learning by heart and other methods of study, and on requirements for examinations. Of more interest to the general reader are comments on the shifts of emphasis from time to time, the reasons why classics were read, and which particular classics were favoured. The sixteenth century, for example, stressed fluency in colloquial Latin conversation and cultivated epistolography for professional needs. Ascham wrote: 'I know universities be instituted only that the realm may be served with preachers, lawyers and physicians', much as a modern government runs O.C.T.U.s for training officers. Greek, commended by Erasmus as the medium of access to the best in science, philosophy, medicine, and theology, was at first learned only for reading, not for composition, much less conversation. But the zeal for versification in Greek as well as in Latin was well alight by the time of Milton, and was for centuries to remain 'the characteristic feature of English education'. Clarke thinks verse composition 'useless' (p. 35). But surely it gave a rigorous invigoration to the powers of thought and expression of generations of first-rate writers and leading men. The eighteenth century saw a fuller appreciation of Greek drama; in the nineteenth interest shifted largely from Latin to Greek, and the historical, as well as the literary, value of classical studies came to be better realized. In his chapter of conclusions Clarke argues that the study of classics is a form of foreign travel, unites modern man with ancient civilizations and our own till about 1800, and is an economical education, including as it does some history, some philosophy, and a training in correct English usage.

One can hardly complain of omissions from a mere 179 pages of text and 47 of notes, covering so wide a field; but, since a chapter is given to Trinity College, Dublin, and two to Scotland, one wonders why the perspective was not widened, if only in glimpses, to relevant trends elsewhere, for example in France, the Netherlands, the Jesuit Order. Since James VI and I influenced English standards, it is a pity not to mention his own studies, about which much is to be found in Sir Peter Young's account of *The Library of James VI* (ed. G. F. Warner: Scottish History Society, 1893). Clarke remarks that the use of George Buchanan's *Psalms* was peculiar to Scotland (p. 135); but it had a great vogue on the Continent. My earliest edition with four-part music is from Frankfurt, 1585. Clarke himself notes Buchanan in use at Rivington and St. Bees (p. 183, n. 6 on p. 6). It is observed that in Scotland Latin lingered longest in medical faculties, where examinations were conducted in Latin till 1826. Here the Netherlands perspective is relevant, for Scots medical men frequented Leyden and Utrecht. By a slip it is said that Gilbert Murray left Glasgow 'for the professorship in his own university'. In fact it was ill health that caused him to resign his Glasgow chair and spend several years in retirement, and he often referred to his Glasgow years as the happiest time of his life. Incidentally, he enjoyed higher emoluments by Clyde than by Isis. One wonders why Clarke thinks it 'impracticable' (p. 18) to teach Greek and Hebrew to the fourth form, yet refers (p. 35) to Westminster boys of 12 or 13 doing extemporary verses in Greek and Hebrew, as well as in Latin and Arabic. The generally pedestrian style is relieved by some lively quotations and anecdotes.

University of St. Andrews

D. C. C. YOUNG

SHORT REVIEWS

WILHELM MATTES: *Odysseus bei den Phäaken*. Kritisches zur Homer-analyse. Pp. 172. Würzburg: Triltsch, 1958. Paper, DM. 6.

THIS book was originally a Frankfurt dissertation, and its sub-title shows that Professor Patzer maintains the positive attitude towards the traditional text of the *Odyssey* which was established in the Frankfurt seminar by Karl Reinhardt. At the same time, it must be made clear that Mattes is not setting out only to give a new interpretation of the conduct of Odysseus among the Phaeacians, as the work of a single author with a very definite purpose (and a very clear one, once one learns to distinguish it); he is also writing what Drerup would have called a 'Kriegsbuch', and the weapons of his warfare are the very ones forged by the disintegrators for their own use. 'For 'tis the sport, to have the engineer Hoist with his own petard', and the much-enduring defenders of the unity and indivisibility of the *Odyssey* will be delighted by the weight and accuracy of Mattes's counter-battery fire—his main targets are Focke and von der Mühl, though he spares a few salvos for Schwartz and Wilamowitz, and has a ranging shot or two for Schadewaldt, the full details of whose position are still unknown (it will be noted that Mattes deals only with German-speaking scholars; Bérard, Marzullo, Page, and others, though unnamed, are often to be found within the beaten zone). But not all one's appreciation of the anodyne effects of retaliation (to adapt a phrase of Sir Winston Churchill's) can prevent the reader who attaches more importance to the proper understanding of the *Odyssey* than to any polemic from regretting both Mattes's fondness for italics (even Queen Victoria hardly used more) and also the roughness of the language in which he often assails his chosen victims; that some of them were themselves freer with verbal brickbats than the fragility of their own intellectual tenements would warrant is perfectly true, but Mattes's arguments are for the most part sound enough to win acceptance by their intrinsic merits—and in such cases it is hardly prudent to go out of one's way to evoke hostility.

Fundamentally, Mattes's argument is that the author of the *Odyssey* intended from the outset that Odysseus should spend two

nights in Scheria, but that the second night was to come as a surprise both to the audience and to the characters in the story, though its arrival was to be the result of the action of those characters, and especially of Odysseus himself. This action has two themes, closely interwoven and mutually supporting: an 'Abfahrtsreihe', dealing with the *πρωμή* for Odysseus, and an 'Enthüllungsreihe', in which Odysseus, having been reduced almost to sub-humanity by his sufferings, is shown gradually reviving to consciousness of 'that strength which in old days Moved earth and heaven', and so fitting himself for the ordeals which he still has to face in Ithaca. Mattes works out these two main strands of the action with great skill: one might occasionally question an inference, or point to an omission (for example, Mattes never shows acquaintance with Stanford's *Ulysses Theme*, and the simile in *Iliad* xvi. 7-11 is relevant to his argument on p. 118), but the work as a whole is most profitable reading. It lacks both bibliography and index.

J. A. DAVISON

University of Leeds

MANFRED NEUMANN: *Die poetische Gerechtigkeit in der neuen Komödie*. (Mainz diss.) Pp. 192. Speyer: privately printed, 1958. Paper.

THE title of Dr. Neumann's dissertation arouses an interest which it is, however, difficult to sustain for long. The investigation of what poetic justice means to an age is, at first sight, exciting: for, after all, poetic justice is no more than the realization of the ideal in the potentially best of all possible worlds. It should be possible to learn something new about the way in which the people of that age looked at their world. Such an investigation may well, however, only succeed, by devious and exacting routes, in reaching the obvious. The danger is most acute in the comedy of types: for, since it is an inevitable law of comedy that the good should prosper and the evil go unrewarded, where the good and evil are type characters (and not the individual creations of the poet), the most that can be learnt is something about what the age commonly meant by good and evil. But this is small reward for long toil.

Neumann has not succeeded in avoiding

this difficulty. He carefully classifies and documents the case-histories of all the characters of 'New Comedy' known to him. He then reaches the merited conclusions that the good in the end triumph, the evil are punished (but not severely); that what is generally considered ethically good is upheld, immorality is condemned; that young men are expected to fall in love, old men forbidden; that the love-interest arouses sympathy; that young women are inevitably pretty, old women generally respectable. Neumann deserved less expected results, for his investigation is thorough and his remarks on characters sensible. But he scarcely ever finds himself forced to reinterpret a passage nor does he feel due embarrassment at the fact that most of his evidence about New Comedy comes from Roman comedy. He silences doubt: for instance on *Pseud.* 434 ff. he says (p. 70): '(Callipho) ist versöhnlich (495; vgl. auch 537 f. und bes. 553). Obwohl Pseudolus ihn bittet zu bleiben (547 f.), kommt er nicht weiter vor, was vielleicht auf Kontamination zurückzuführen ist, da die Bemerkung des Pseudolus keinen Sinn gibt.' But if 'Kontamination' must be reckoned with, then how is it permissible to use this play, without further question, as evidence for New Comedy? Neumann might have reached some results of interest if he had decided the main features of poetic justice in New Comedy, keeping to Greek evidence and such Latin evidence as seems beyond question. He might then have been able to point to certain exaggerating tendencies in Plautus, or a certain carelessness of moral feeling in Terence, which disrupted the Greek endings of some specific plays. He might have been able to do more with Terence's *Adelphi*, which he simply leaves as an exception, confining himself to vague remarks (pp. 173 ff.). But the results achieved by Neumann can only be vague and generalized: they cannot, therefore, be applied with any precision whatever.

GORDON WILLIAMS

Balliol College, Oxford

FRANK O. COPLEY: *Terence's Phormio*. Translated with an introduction. Pp. viii+61. New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1958. Paper, 45 c.

Two previous translations of plays by Plautus have already been noticed of *Most.* in *C.R.*, n.s. vii (1957), 80, and of *Rudens*, *ibid.* viii (1958), 187. The translation of Terence's *Phormio* seems to the present reviewer more successful than either. Perhaps the more even

style of Terence, lacking the vast swift changes from high to low so characteristic of Plautus, better suits Professor Copley. He is noticeably successful in reproducing the natural flow of Terence's dialogue, and in representing, without exaggeration, the different stylistic levels of, for instance, old gentlemen and slaves. The idiom is American, but is entirely free from the more recondite slang locutions. Here again the translator is successful in catching the cosmopolitan urbanity of much of Terence's writing. Characteristic is the following passage (*Phorm.* 705 ff.): 'The things that have been happening since I got engaged! Bad luck signs all over the place! A strange dog, dead black, walked into the house! A snake dropped off the roof and fell into the cistern! A hen crowed! Every priest in town has advised against it! Nearly New Year's, too; don't want to start new business before the turn of the year!' The excellence of this becomes clear if it is compared, for instance, with the Loeb translation; its only fault is that 'every priest in town . . .' does not cohere well with the list of superstitions that precede it. Excellent too is the rendering of the old nurse's euphemism (750: *matrem ipsam ex aegritudine hac miseram mors consecutast*): 'But her mother was just so brokenhearted . . . she . . . passed on. Poor thing!' There is, in the modern colloquial idiom used by Copley, some inevitable damage done to the delicacy of Terentian narrative, which is so well caught by Thornton Wilder's *Woman of Andros*. But this is a minor point, and the translator is to be congratulated on a lively and interesting version of the *Phormio*.

GORDON WILLIAMS

Balliol College, Oxford

BRONISLAW BILIŃSKI: *Accio ed i Gracchi*. Contributo alla storia della plebe e della tragedia romana. (Accademia Polacca di Scienze e Lettere, Biblioteca di Roma, Conferenze, fasc. 3.) Pp. 51. Roma: Signorelli, 1958. Paper.

ROMAN drama in its great period was so intimately linked with the whole life of the community according to Biliński that we must think of tragedy as appealing to the same wide audience as comedy. With Accius, however, it lost the breadth of sympathy which Ennius and Pacuvius displayed. Its popularity waned. Accius let himself become the mouthpiece of the *optimates* and thereby, despite his magnificent gifts, created

a fatal rift between playwright and populace, which soon led to tragedy's decline. Biliński acutely argues that Accius' predilection for the 'tyrant' theme did not spring from any democratic leanings, but rather from opposition to the movement of reform, whose leaders were successively accused of aiming at *regnum*. The contemporary atmosphere of disorder and strife pervades his drama; the people are held responsible and treated with the contempt of the dominant aristocracy, who unhappily had some justification: The *plebs urbana*, long open to the influx of new elements, was already suffering from the progressive demoralization which would render it unfit for any political power.

Biliński is not blind to the danger of interpreting a dramatist's personal attitude from fragments usually torn from their context. He employs many checks in making them yield information. Among other evidence for the part played by the theatre in the political struggle he plausibly adduces the censorial ban of 115 B.C. as an optimum measure. But he perhaps overstates the case against Accius and his patron, D. Junius Brutus Callaicus. They may have been closer to the elder Drusus than to L. Opimius, even though Brutus helped to crush C. Gracchus. As in 100 B.C., many men of moderate views rallied temporarily to the *optimates* in the crisis. Accius' *Brutus* could well have been an apologia for his patron and the Senate, as Biliński suggests, without supporting the extremists. Incidentally, if Biliński is right, should we not consider dating *Brutus* somewhat later than 136 B.C.?

This study should inspire hard thinking on the changing composition of the *plebs* and the social impact of Roman drama, however much it is criticized in detail. Its liberal annotation reveals a wealth of work in Polish and Russian which remains unknown or inaccessible to most English-speaking scholars. One can only hope that Biliński's example will be increasingly followed and that he himself will probe still deeper into the complexities of second-century Roman society and present us with his results.

H. B. MATTINGLY

University of Nottingham

GUILLAUME STÉGEN: *Les Épîtres littéraires d'Horace*. Pp. 232. Namur: Wesmael-Charlier, 1958. Paper, 195 B. fr.

DR. STÉGEN has already produced commentaries on Virgil's *Eclogues*, the first set of which was reviewed by Professor H. J. Rose

in *C.R.* vi (1956), 307-8. The reviewer there referred to the genesis of the commentary in question in the special circumstances of classical education in Belgian secondary schools, with particular reference to the necessity of a suitable response to the literary and aesthetic approach of pupils. In the case of the present work one similarly gets the impression of a book that reflects principles and methods of teaching that have been pursued with ardour by the schoolmaster; whether the pupils would have had reason to be equally enthusiastic is not easy to judge. It is proper to point out that English-speaking students would have no occasion to use the book, whose utility is local, not to say parochial, and that criticism should therefore be both brief and restrained.

The scheme of the work is as follows. First the text of *Ars Poetica*, then that of *Epist.* i. 19 and ii. 1 and 2, is set out *particulatim*, with an extensive and desultory commentary following each passage thus presented. The longer epistles discussed are divided into parts, and there is much tedious and fruitless discussion of the precise partition that should command assent. As for the commentary itself, readers untrammelled by undue preoccupation with relevance could find it interesting. It might appear unreasonable to take exception to Aristotle's intrusions where he is not wanted, or to Stégen's tendency to veer off to Virgil's *Eclogues*, to which he has established his claim to be devoted. A reviewer who feared to be thought reactionary and obsolescent would conceal his surprise at the predominance in a commentary on Horace's Literary Epistles of such names as Alain, Gide, Maritain, Valéry, Marinetti, Joubert, Pascal, Brémond, Duhamel, even Wagner and Meyerbeer, not to mention the ubiquitous Baudier. What really disconcerts is the actual substance of the commentary, in which irrelevance often goes so far as to imply fundamental miscomprehension of the text that the commentary is intended to illustrate. For example, even Virgil, *Eclogues* iii. 49 (*ueniam quocumque uocaris*), is dragged in to explain *A. P.* 99-100:

non satis est pulchra esse poemata; dulcia
sunt,
et quocumque uolent animum auditoris
agunt,

and the voluminous discussion of subjectivity that follows does not help us with *dulcia sunt*, a description of poetry, not of its readers. Again, he assembles seven authorities in support of his view that in *A. P.* 104 *male* is to be taken with *mandata*, but we

are driven to assume that the intellectual curiosity of his pupils is not expected to extend to *ampullas* in line 97. He may be said to make better sense than some of *A.P.* 128-30 ('quand Horace dit que les sujets rabattus sont difficiles, ce n'est pas pour les déconseiller, mais au contraire il y voit un stimulant'). He could have appealed to Catullus 76. 13-14, though, indeed, *uerum* there makes all the difference. As an example of the author's agility in missing a point, it is not unjust to cite his note on *A.P.* 137: 'La raison pour laquelle Horace condamne ce début de poème est déjà donnée par Aristote: on n'assure pas l'unité du *mûthos* en racontant tous les faits relatifs à un seul personnage . . . ou qui se sont passés à une même époque, comme le fait l'historien . . ., ou encore une action unique, mais composée de plusieurs parties. . . . C'est pourquoi Homère ne raconte pas la guerre de Troie tout entière, mais il en choisit une partie déterminée.'

There are misprints, including violations of metre, that should have been avoided.

W. S. MAGUINNESS

King's College, London

C. C. GROLLIOS: *Seneca's ad Marciam: Tradition and Originality*. Pp. 84. Athens: privately printed, 1956. Stiff paper, 10s. 6d.

In 1952 Dr. Grollios published a work on the influence of platonism on Cicero's theology and he followed this in 1956 with two studies on the Consolations of Seneca, one, written in Greek, on the commonplaces in the *Ad Polybium* and one, written in English though published at Athens, on the *Ad Marciam*.

The aim and plan of this little book is set out with commendable clarity; Grollios hopes by an analysis of the dialogue to distinguish those arguments and elements which are traditional to the *παράδοθητικός λόγος* or *consolatio* from whatever might be Seneca's own contribution. Beginning with an analysis of the general structure of the dialogue, he goes on to discuss in their appropriate place the prooemium, the traditional section of examples, and the ornamental digressions; the kernel of his book comprises four chapters in which he shows how Seneca synthesizes a composite philosophical remedy for grief by combining the remedial principles employed respectively by the Peripatetics, Chrysippus, the Cyrenaics, and the Epicureans. Having thus isolated the traditional elements and borrowed material he

can attempt to assess Seneca's own contribution and finds that this lies in the spirit rather than the matter, in a broad and personal interpretation of Stoicism which softens with humanity the austerity of rationalist dogma and leaves room for a sympathy with, and a psychological insight into, the problems of the heart and the day.

Grollios's analysis and conclusion throw up little that is surprising, but it is useful to have a dialogue dissected in this way and its component elements laid out for our inspection. The author shows a curious ability in amassing parallel passages from a variety of authors and periods and thus provides a valuable quarry of material. But the book is rather bloodless and mechanical. Grollios is faintly aware that Seneca is something of a stylist ('Seneca should be credited with a constant effort towards a vigorous and eloquent expression'), but the chance that the demands of rhetoric and antithesis and point should have any effect on the selection and arrangement of material receives the scantiest attention. And although it would be churlish to criticize the English idiom or enumerate the misprints in a work printed in Greece, the book does have a hurried and unfinished air. This would be more excusable had Grollios shown a high degree of scholarly accuracy or critical judgement, but the parallels are thrown together so haphazardly that we often have nothing more than a compilation; and how unscholarly Grollios can be may be seen from a glance at the brief bibliography, where he confuses first editions with reprints, gives references to periodicals which are often incomplete, incorrect, or both, and knows of only one—and presumably prolific—British scholar called Duff.

L. D. REYNOLDS

Brasenose College, Oxford

MICHELE COCCIA: *I problemi del 'De Ira' di Seneca alla luce dell'analisi stilistica*. Pp. 157. Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1958. Paper, L. 1,600.

For those who are overwhelmed with the recent and voluminous spate of work on various aspects of Seneca's life and thought it is heartening, as indeed it would have heartened the author in question, to find at least some attention being paid not so much to what Seneca said as to the way in which he said it. Signore Coccia's aim is to tackle the problem of dating Seneca's prose works from a new angle by adopting

a method, long aired but never really attempted, of tracing through the prose works a line of stylistic evolution which would help one to determine the chronological order of composition. The dialogue which he chooses as his starting-point is the *De Ira*. First he re-examines, in the main destructively, the main dating evidence for this dialogue and contents himself with the undisputed *terminus post quem* of 41; then he examines in considerable detail the style of the *De Ira* and devotes himself in particular to countering the theory that the third book considerably post-dates the first two. His object is to relate the *De Ira* stylistically to the two consolations, the *Ad Helviam* and *Ad Polybium*, written during the early period of Seneca's exile. He discovers that the stylistic features which he has analysed in the *De Ira* re-appear in the two consolations, but that here Seneca reveals a more controlled use of his rhetorical stock-in-trade; then, brushing aside the notion that a more restrained use of rhetoric might be due to the genre of the work or to other influences rather than to a controlled mastery of stylistic device, he concludes that the *De Ira* pre-dates the consolations and therefore should be put as early as possible within the dating limits. Finally, in order to put his thesis on a firmer footing, Coccia takes a dialogue which is known to have been written much later, the *De Vita Beata*, and finds in it a more regular construction of the period and a development of tendencies noted in the consolations which he assumes to be distinctive features of Seneca's mature style.

The scope of Coccia's inquiry is well defined and his method, once allowed, is worked out carefully and consistently and there is some solid result. His analysis of the style of the *De Ira* in particular is thorough and illuminating. But it should be pointed out that he uses the word 'style' in the narrower sense, limiting himself to sentence structure, word order, and figures and ignoring what might be learned from a study of rhythm, vocabulary, or the more subtle nuances of usage, emphasis, and omission. One's serious doubts, however, are about his main thesis. For the stylistic method, on his formulation, involves no real statistics, uses only a selection of data, and is bound to be in the long run subjective. To my mind Coccia has not proved his point, but he is working, as he realizes, in a partial vacuum and only a further study of Seneca's prose works as a whole will show whether one can in this way work out a definite line of stylistic evolution and whether this can be used as a firm criterion in determining the chronology.

In the meantime Coccia's book, as a contribution to such a study and as an attempt to work out a new stylistic method, is both interesting and creditable.

L. D. REYNOLDS

Brasenose College, Oxford

P. B. CORBETT: *The Latin of the Regula Magistri with particular reference to its colloquial aspects*. Pp. 308. Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1958. Paper, 320 B. fr.

THE *Regula Magistri*, a monastic Rule in the form of question and answer, embodied by Benedict of Aniana in his collection of Rules in the ninth century, and printed by Holstenius (Rome, 1661),¹ was long believed to be a seventh-century compilation from the Rule of St. Benedict, and so largely neglected.² The discovery that several manuscripts of the *Regula* date from the end of the sixth century, together with other considerations, has recently induced many scholars to see in it a work earlier than the Rule of St. Benedict.³ At once it has become a text of major importance to historians of monasticism and to students of late Latin. A diplomatic edition of the text presented by the oldest manuscripts has recently been published, with the collaboration of Dr. Corbett.⁴

The present work is a preliminary study of the Latinity of the *Regula*, which makes no claim to be exhaustive. The author draws with discrimination on the work of Saloni, Löfstedt, Norberg, Linderbauer, Svennung, and others to illustrate the odd Latin of his text, and often supplements their collections from his own wide reading in the literature of late antiquity and the Dark Ages. Some of his notes are valuable contri-

¹ Reproduced by Brockie, Augsburg, 1759, whose text was in turn reprinted by Migne, P.L. 88. 943-1052.

² Cf. Schanz-Hosius-Krüger, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* iv. 2, Munich, 1920, 594; B. Linderbauer, *S. Benedicti Regula Monachorum*, Metten, 1922, 24.

³ The fundamental study is A. Genestout, 'La Règle du Maître et la Règle de S. Benoît', *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, xxi (1940), 67-112.

⁴ H. Vanderhoven, F. Masai, with P. B. Corbett, *La Règle du Maître, édition diplomatique des manuscrits latins 12205 et 12634 de Paris* (Publications de Scriptorium, iii), Brussels-Paris, 1953.

contributions to the study of late Latin in general, e.g. on the use of the pluperfect subjunctive (pp. 96-100), on *nam et* = *nam* (pp. 169-77), on the confusion between the perfect subjunctive and the future perfect indicative (pp. 260-4). Others give expression to views which would require further argument, e.g. his postulation of a word *diversus* = **deversus* = *ἀναχωστῆς* = monk (pp. 118-28), and his attempts to detect interpolations on the basis of orthography, vocabulary, or imagery (e.g. pp. 220, 84, 157). Indeed, his whole conception of the relation between the orthography of the manuscripts and the pronunciation of author and copyists needs more systematic exposition.¹

There are many signs of hasty composition. Substantially the same note is repeated, e.g. on the subjunctive in rubrics (pp. 149 and 186), on *distinus* with the infinitive of command (pp. 202-3 and 255), on *valem* for *vale* (pp. 135 and 267). Contradictory statements appear in different parts of the commentary: e.g. *debere* is said not to be used in the *Regula* as a future auxiliary on p. 70, but on p. 112 a passage is interpreted—correctly—as if it was; the acc. c. infin. is said on p. 77 not to be used with *dicere* in the *Regula*, yet a passage (24. 82) is quoted on p. 79 in which it is so used; *ad* with the infinitive is said on p. 271 not to occur in the *Regula*, yet examples of it are quoted on pp. 245-6. The form *sinceris* is not recognized on p. 281, though it occurs in Varro, Lucretius, and Fronto, not to cite more recondite sources. Here, as in many other parts of his commentary, the author could with advantage have consulted the *Thesaurus* archive. A deponent form *agor* seems to be postulated on p. 255 without comment.

This is the first linguistic commentary on the *Regula*. Dr. Corbett has had to do what was done for most texts in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. In spite of all its irritating shortcomings his book will be the foundation upon which all subsequent exegesis of the *Regula* will rest.

ROBERT BROWNING

University College, London

OTTO HILTBRUNNER: *Latina Graeca*. Semasiologische Studien über lateinische Wörter im Hinblick auf ihr Verhältnis zu griechischen Vorbildern.

¹ Which it will no doubt get in the forthcoming *Genèse de la Règle des Monastères* (Publications de Scriptorium, iv) by H. Vanderhoven, F. Masai, and P. B. Corbett.

Pp. 208. Bern: Francke, 1958. Paper, 22 Sw. fr.

DR. HILTBRUNNER, who was for many years a member of the staff of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, assembles in the present volume five studies in Latin semantics, in most of which a large place is occupied by the examination of Greek influences. Two of these, on *simplicitas* (pp. 15-105) and on *sincerus* (pp. 106-54), are detailed surveys of the complete semantic field of a common word, anticipating the corresponding *Thesaurus* articles. The others, 'Die *intra* und ein griechisches Gebäck bei Plautus' (pp. 155-77), 'Die Dampfbäder des Rufus' (pp. 178-90), and 'Der Kitharspieler von Aspendos (*intus* = 'nach innen')' (pp. 191-7) are shorter and more limited in scope.

All are based upon the collections of passages in the *Thesaurus* archive—a priceless source which should be drawn on more frequently by scholars. And their interest to the present reviewer lies principally in the glimpse which they give of the methods of work current in the editorial office of the *Thesaurus*. We are, as it were, looking over the shoulder of the *Redaktor* as he prepares his *Thesaurus* article. And what we see is impressive and reassuring, although it may occasionally strike us as niggling or long-winded when set out at length in print.

Long after *ἀπλοῦς* had developed a number of transferred senses, *simplex* remained a numerical word. The earliest occurrence of *simplex* in a transferred sense ('naïve') is in *Rhet. ad Herenn.* iv. 49, a passage which Hiltbrunner, by a rather complex and not altogether convincing argument, traces back to a lost Greek collection of rhetorical *exempla*. Be that as it may, it is very probable that it was as a semantic calque of *ἀπλοῦς* in one of its technical senses that *simplex* was first used in a non-numerical sense. Its subsequent semantic development seems largely independent of Greek—as Hiltbrunner himself says, 'die griechische *ἀπλότης* bleibt stets stärker als die römische *simplicitas* philosophisch gerichtet' (p. 81)—until it is used by the Christians to translate *ἀπλοῦς* in the Judaeo-Christian sense of Hebrew *tom*. The use of *simplex* as a political watchword of senatorial circles in the post-Flavian period is particularly interesting. It explains the endless references in inscriptions to the *simplicitas* of officials and patrons. And there is probably something in Hiltbrunner's suggestion (p. 77) that Tacitus' *Germania* is at any rate in part an idealization of this political *simplicitas*.

Sincerus has always been a puzzle to the

etymologist. Hiltbrunner is inclined to interpret it as *sm-kairos*, cognate with *caerimonia* (p. 153), but 'die Frage . . . bleibt indessen weiterhin offen'. Establishment of the earliest meaning of a word may enable us to choose between rival etymologies, and the bulk of this chapter consists of a careful semantic analysis, conducted with exemplary caution and scholarship. The primary meaning of *sincerus* appears to be 'in kultischer Hinsicht untadelig', which is at any rate not inconsistent with the hypothesis that it is related to *caerimonia*.

In the third chapter the author argues that there has been semantic interference between *intrita* = *puls intrita*, 'gruel made from meal' and *ἐνθρόνησις* = 'bread broken into milk or wine'. In the course of the argument he probes deeply into the highly specialized technical language of cookery in the ancient world, which is full of such interferences. In an appendix he discusses the Greek, Latin, and Romance words for 'chicory' and finds a double borrowing from Semitic, first from Aramaic (perhaps Punic) in Republican times and again from Arabic in the Middle Ages.

The fourth and fifth chapters are commentaries on a passage in the Latin translation of Rufus of Ephesus, a second-century A.D. doctor, and on Cicero, *Verr.* ii. 1. 53, respectively.

In his wide-ranging discussions Hiltbrunner interprets and sometimes emends passages of authors ranging from Aeschylus to Vegetius. His observations are always worth serious study. Full indexes of words and passages make this diffuse and discursive book a permanently valuable addition to a classical scholar's library.

ROBERT BROWNING

University College, London

Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Linguists. Edited by EVA SIVERTSEN. Pp. xxxi+885. Oslo: University Press, 1958. Paper.

THE composition of this impressive volume reflects the rather complicated form assumed by the International Congresses of Linguists in the course of their history since the first Congress in 1928, a complication consistent with the great variety of methods and subjects of study which language affords. It contains the record not only of the formal sessions of the Congress, of the reports presented to Plenary Sessions and Sections, and of the papers read under the head of Individual Communications, but also, in a somewhat

abridged form, of the discussions which followed reports and papers. Among the approximately five hundred members of the Congress there were comparatively few specialists in the Classical languages, and the participation of many of these in its official proceedings was surprisingly small; some of the most eminent among them do not appear at all in the index of speakers. Among the Individual Communications the title of V. Georgiev's paper, 'Das Pelasgische — eine neuentdeckte indoeuropäische Sprache', perhaps indicates dissatisfaction on the part of its author that the subject was not included in the sectional meetings devoted to 'New Discoveries in Indo-European Studies'. N. Andriotis's short contribution on Greek Semasiology is mainly concerned with the modern language. O. Parlangeli gives an account of newly discovered Messapic inscriptions, and R. Valin looks at the uses of the Latin Imperfect Indicative from the viewpoint of recent methods of linguistic analysis. In the meetings of Sections the chief event for classicists was J. Chadwick's report on the state of Linear B researches. It is natural for reports to be written with a view to a particular occasion, and it is no detractor from the excellence of Chadwick's account to say, two years later, that discoveries of new material and subsequent books and articles have made its importance mainly historical. This is all the more true since the appearance of Chadwick's own book *The Decipherment of Linear B*. The contributions to the discussion, including Georgiev's succinct statement of his standpoint on the language for which Cretan linear script was devised and on the characteristics of Mycenaean Greek, are interesting but few. It is remarkable that of the authorities on Greek linguistics present at the Congress a considerable proportion took no active part in this meeting. The classical linguist, whose interest must extend in some degree to other European languages, as well as to those languages, whether Indo-European or not, with which Greek and Latin were in contact, will find a great deal to interest him, for example A. Tovar's long report 'Indo-European Layers in the Hispanic Peninsula'. Farther afield again, he cannot afford to ignore, despite many difficulties of terminology, the various types of synchronic and structural linguistics, themselves now distinctly traditional in appearance by the side of the mathematical and electronic studies which have their origins partly in Communication Theory and its mechanical applications. The revolution to be expected from the application of mathematical

methods to linguistics has its most ardent prophet in a classical linguist of distinction, J. Whatmough, who makes the report on Mathematical Linguistics. It is in the more general disciplines, those concerned with language rather than particular languages, that the main interest and importance of the Congress of Linguists are to be found.

It is a matter for admiration that Miss Sivertsen, after discharging the heavy burden of her duties as Secretary of the Congress, was able to undertake the editing of its Proceedings. She and the Editorial Committee are to be warmly congratulated on the combination of speed and accuracy shown in their publication.

Westfield College, London

D. M. JONES

H. MICHELL: *Economics of Ancient Greece*. Second edition. Pp. xii+427. Cambridge: Heffer, 1958. Cloth, 45s. net.

In this second edition of Michell's book, which is a photographic reprint of the first edition of 1940 (reviewed in *C.R.* lvii. 43), 'corrected, with new appendices and bibliography', there is little that is new. The Appendix (pp. 416-24) contains a curious mixture of detailed information of very varying quality and relevance; the Supplementary Bibliography adds some modern works, and others which appeared well before the first edition and are sometimes out of date. The sources are preponderantly literary; the channels through which archaeology has influenced the work seem often to be rather old-fashioned. The book remains, therefore, a mine of references to ancient literature and to general and specialized modern works, always provided that the sources and their interpretation are examined closely and carefully: it is inevitable in a work of this sort that there should be errors of detail and uncertainties of interpretation. These cannot be easily or satisfactorily corrected in a photographic reprint, and the question arises of the value of such a reprint in the case of a book which seems to require a complete reorganization and rewriting. It is a pity that the naïve tone, which appears especially in the 'Background' has not been eliminated: p. 9, last paragraph, p. 24, paragraph 2, p. 34, end of paragraph 2, will indicate what is meant. Again it is doubtful whether a book of this size and organization on the 'economics' of 'Greece' is a profitable or possible thing, even assuming that it is up to date. The

period covered (unequally as is inevitable) stretches from Bronze Age Crete and Mycenae to the Hellenistic period and beyond. It is difficult for one author, or indeed several, to cover an extended period, with such diversity of subject, with anything like first-hand knowledge, as is demonstrated by recent histories of technology. One is driven to use works of reference which at the present time are often based on out-of-date or ill-digested material, while the multiplicity and diversity of original sources permit little or no consideration of their real value. There is need for studies of clearly defined periods and regions, showing more clearly than Michell's does the interrelations of various economic activities against the political background.

R. J. HOPPER

University of Sheffield

Archaeological Survey of the Knossos Area. Compiled by M. S. F. HOOD; map surveyed by D. SMOLLETT and traced by P. DE JONG. Pp. 24; 1 large and 3 small maps. London: British School at Athens, 1958. Paper, 17s. 6d. net.

ONE of the unnecessary irritations in the study of Classical Archaeology is the lack of special maps of important sites and districts. It is easy to understand the reluctance of excavators to publish a chart that will need revision after the next campaign; but when the study of a large site has been completed, if it ever is, the location of some of the outlying discoveries has probably been forgotten. The British School at Athens deserves not only praise but imitation for this venture. What we are given is a contour map of the Cnossus district from Isopata to Spelia and from Fortezza to Mavrospelio at a scale of 1:5,000. On this are marked and numbered (from 1 to 169) almost all the walls and tombs that have been discovered, and an index gives brief details and references to publications or unpublished records. Smaller maps and short summaries show the extent of Cnossus in the Minoan period, in the earlier Iron Age, and in Classical and Roman times. The compiling of all this information must have been very laborious and often difficult, but Hood has done his work well. I noted only one slip: no. 105 was dated by the excavators to the fourth century B.C.

R. M. COOK

Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge

A. E. ASTIN: *The Lex Annalis before Sulla*. (Collection Latomus, xxxii.) Pp. 47. Brussels: Latomus, 1958. Paper, 80 B. fr.

In this work—a corrected reprint of a paper that appeared, in two parts, in *Latomus* 1957 and 1958—the material made available in Broughton's *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* is used, with care and ingenuity, to establish the nature of the *cursus honorum* from its introduction to Sulla's reforms. It is shown that legislation on the subject begins c. 197 B.C. and is probably completed by the *lex Villia* of 180; that henceforth there were fixed minimum ages (probably 36, 39, and 42 respectively) for the curule aedileship, praetorship, and consulship; that a clear *biennium* was compulsory between each magistracy and the next in order; finally that the quaestorship was a customary, but not a compulsory, prerequisite, perhaps with a minimum age of 25. H. Chantraine, *Untersuchungen zur röm. Gesch.* (Kallmünz, 1959), has independently reached similar conclusions, with a slight difference on the quaestorship; but his study cannot stand comparison with Astin's. There is much useful incidental discussion of related problems, some in the post-Sullan age; though on these the author's view is not always acceptable (e.g. the discussion of C. Furnius, p. 14, and the list on p. 39). There is a tendency to assume that Sulla made no significant changes; this assumption is unwarranted and will need careful investigation. But for the period it purports to cover this survey, in its main conclusions, should be definitive, superseding the discussions of earlier scholars.

E. BADIAN

Durham Colleges (University of Durham)

GÜNTHER KLAFFENBACH: *Varia Epigraphica*. (Abh. der deutschen Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin, 1958. 2.) Pp. 31; 2 plates. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958. Paper, DM. 5.50.

THIS baker's dozen of epigraphical notes, the longest covering some 4½ pages and the shortest little more than a dozen lines, ranges in area from Crete to the Rhine and in time from the fifth century B.C. to the second A.D. or even later. In whatever age and in whatever quarter of the Greek achievement Professor Klaffenbach is equally at home: his enviable command of his material is matched here, as always, by the judgement which he applies to it and by the

adness of his observation. Where others have given up a problem as impossible of solution (nos. xi–xiii) his sharp eye and wide experience lead him to an answer. Where others have professed themselves satisfied with a text or interpretation (nos. iv, v, vii) he does not rest until he has overcome difficulties which the exactness of his scholarship cannot allow him to burke. It is entirely fitting that a little collection of this calibre should have been dedicated to Josef Keil and Marcus N. Tod, nor would an offering of lesser standard be adequate to the merits of either author or recipients.

It is of course possible to cite instances of disagreement. I am not, for example, happy to assume a dittography in line 26 of *S.E.G.* iv, 720 (no. iv); the refuge of lapical error can be the last infirmity of noble minds, and was much overworked, at the end of his career, by so distinguished an epigraphist as Wilhelm. It would have helped the reader of this same text to have a copy of the photograph which Klaffenbach notes as in his possession; both edges of the stone are lost, and the consistency of the restorations must be taken on trust. Others may not share the author's dissatisfaction with previous interpretations of line 3 of the Cydoniates' gift to their *proxenoi* (no. vii = *Inscr. Crét.* ii, pp. 116–17, no. 1), while the new supplements to Meritt's text in *Hesperia*, xxvi [1957], 209, no. 57 (no. ix), involve difficulties of their own to which, one feels, a *non liquet* may be the proper answer.

On the other hand, others among Klaffenbach's notes carry an instant and impressive conviction; they are expounded with the deceptive ease of the master, whether in the restatement of an Aetolian topographical problem (no. ii) or a piece of constitutional procedure in Lampsacus (no. v), where the solutions, as he argues them, are so persuasive that one is left wondering why anyone could previously have held ideas to the contrary and how anyone will find grounds to challenge them, if indeed they should contemplate doing so.

Yet in a sense all this is beside the point. The great lesson of this little *Abhandlung* is one of meticulous care and method. To those who might regard its subject-matter as concerned only with the *minutiae* of the professional epigraphist's back room this is the aspect that the reviewer must emphasize. Any reader, whatever his field of interest, may profit from the contemplation of good argument well expounded and from a glimpse into the treasury of a great scholar's lifetime experience: it is this that gives *Varia Epigraphica* that universal application which

a superficial glance might rashly assume it to lack.

A. G. WOODHEAD

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

GEISELA M. A. RICHTER: *A Handbook of Greek Art*. Pp. 421; 4 col. pl., 507 text-figs. London: Phaidon Press, 1959. Cloth, 37s. 6d. net.

MISS RICHTER possesses an extensive knowledge of Greek art and is singularly well qualified to write a Phaidon Press handbook—witness the sixteen books and dozen articles from her pen which are cited in her bibliography here. She is a *docta comes* whose genius is for the positive and the particular. The various sections of this excellently produced handbook are crammed with statistically justified information, which is presented in the proper terminology, and with concise descriptions of the numerous objects successively illustrated in the pictures. The non-classical reader who studies the text with due attention will be rewarded with an ample stock of pre-digested information on the various branches of Greek art, and the avid Hellenic traveller will at last find something to get his teeth into. At the same time, with its wealth of excellent illustration this book provides a pictorial synopsis of the resources and range of Greek artistic output. The weakness, if there is one, is inherent in the plan of the book: the subject is made to appear too cut-and-dried. At times perhaps the treatment is a little prim; some broader generalizations would have helped to show the reader that the different channels form a single stream.

The best of the major sections is that on sculpture, where Miss Richter knows every inch of the ground and adjusts her pace to the length of the course. The least satisfactory seems to be that on architecture; though for the most part tolerably safe, the account is too external; ground-plans preponderate in the illustrations, and the reader gains the impression that column-disposition and the classic elevation of Doric and Ionic constitute almost the sum of Greek architectural enterprise.

Difficult as it undoubtedly is, the survey of classical painting should not be limited to Red Figure, literary testimonia, and wall-paintings of the Circumvesuviana; and mosaic is hardly a matter of a bare twenty-five lines of text. The section on vases is a conventional summary by fabrics and styles, and (in the Attic B.F. and R.F.) by painters. But it has become so abridged as to be

kaleidoscopic. The R.F. section between 530 and 400 B.C. is a skeleton of Miss Richter's greater writings on this subject. The forty-five painters selected for an honourable mention have on an average fifty-eight words of letterpress each, and only two in every five are illustrated; the rest are mere names, either to be memorized by rote or to be ignored. If this handbook runs to a second edition, this part, like that on architecture, could profitably be rewritten on different lines.

A manual of art or archaeology in one moderately priced volume is a welcome anachronism. In the nature of things such a volume has to be selective, and each scholar who studies this handbook will note little deficiencies. There is no hint of the diversity of archaic metal-working schools or of the grandeur of sixth-century East Greek sculpture; there is little on ivory carvings, and no circular seal is illustrated; there is little indication of the range of types of Hellenistic terracottas, and not a single classical coin of Greece proper. Late archaic and classical decorative marble carving might have been worth a photograph or two, and the syntax of Geometric ornamentation (which laid the foundations of Greek art) should have had its paragraph. In fact, craftsmanship (as distinct from high art or the highly ornate) tends to be neglected in this volume; but Greek artistic sense manifested itself no less in superlative craftsmanship, and a Geometric tripod, an engraved bronze helmet, or a well-jointed stone wall can be a more satisfying spectacle than many a work of high art.

There are a few errors; it is unfortunate that figs. 30 and 31 have been transposed, and that the misprint 489 A.C. for 480 B.C. on p. 66 is confirmed on p. 89. But, considering the range and density of the book, the general standard of accuracy is high; and, all in all, the author's command of her subject is remarkable. Despite its faults, this handbook is the epitome of the studies of a lifetime, a *donum venerabile* which will provide many people with access to realms which still have a meaning for our age.

J. M. COOK

University of Bristol

SYDNEY P. NOE: *The Coinage of Caulonia*. (Numismatic Studies, No. 9.) Pp. 62; 20 plates. New York: American Numismatic Society, 1958. Paper, \$5.

The essential part of this study is the

catalogue of over 800 coins from the period of about 150 years during which the mint of Caulonia was active (c. 530-389 B.C.). Little seems to have escaped Mr. Noe's net, though the omission of part of the material in the British Museum has caused him to miss at least one point of substance, namely, the existence of a die link between the incuse and the double-relief issues; this goes far to show that the change in fabric does not imply any serious interruption in the production of coinage.

Though Caulonia was not one of the great cities of S. Italy, nor was her mint especially important or productive, her coinage does show a certain vigorous provincial independence. Starting about 530, the earliest incuse dies are the finest, which suggests that an artist was borrowed from the established mint of a neighbour in order to initiate the coinage, and that his work was then copied by less skilled local engravers. About 475 Caulonia took the lead in abandoning the incuse fabric in favour of the more normal practice of having a type in relief on both faces; in this she was no doubt influenced by familiarity with the great contemporary coinages of Syracuse, Gela, and Acragas.

The early phases of the double-relief fabric present few problems, but with Noe's group G a change comes over the coinage. Symbols now become usual on either obverse or reverse, but at the same time die links between coins with different symbols become infrequent; in consequence the sequence of most of the issues is not certainly fixed. The general impression, however, is of small issues produced on a number of separate occasions with intermissions during which no coinage was minted.

Apart from a summary of interpretations of the Apollo type, and a description of the characteristics of the groups into which he has divided the coinage, Noe provides little comment on his material. Yet it does raise problems that might have been indicated, if not solved. For example, why are overstrikes so heavily concentrated in Group E, and why, when they do occur elsewhere, do they tend to be found in groups of die-linked coins? It has been claimed that most S. Italian coins were overstruck upon imported foreign coins, and that the 'visible' overstrikes represent a small percentage of failures; yet if this were so, we should expect an even distribution of these failures throughout the coinage instead of a concentration within particular series. Again, the numerous weights recorded by Noe show that from the beginning to the end of Caulonia's coinage there was a small but noticeable drop in the

weight standard; in particular, there seems to be a marked change at the beginning of Group G. If a similar, and presumably contemporary, change can be detected in other S. Italian coinages, a valuable chronological link will be obtained.

The catalogue includes the small denominations, the very rare bronze issues, and plated coins. All die combinations are fully and well illustrated, and two plates of enlargements are provided. The volume also includes a full illustration and discussion of a small fifth-century S. Italian hoard, which is a useful addition to the slender published hoard-material from this area.

C. M. KRAAY

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

H. J. ROSE: *Some Problems of Classical Religion*. Pp. 53. Oslo: University Press, 1958. Paper, kr. 7.50.

THE University of Oslo has established a series of lectures in honour of Professor Eitrem, using funds subscribed by friends and pupils on the occasion of the Professor's eightieth birthday in 1952. The first lecturer invited was Professor H. J. Rose, and this book contains the three lectures which he delivered in March 1955. They are in the field of religious origins and popular religion, in which he has for long been a leading authority.

The first discusses the original nature of Mars. Rose shows it to have been unlikely that he started as either a war-god or (like other 'high gods', of which he is one) a weather-god. The 'Equos October' festival looks like a strengthening of *mana* in aid of crops or beasts. After analysing other ceremonies addressed to Mars, the author suggests as a reasonable hypothesis that he is a survival of the 'Master of Animals' whose worship began among many peoples when their culture was at the hunting stage.

The second lecture treats of *mana* in popular Greek thought of classical date. A definition of *mana* is first offered (p. 19). There is no Greek word for it, but such beliefs are often inarticulate, and the thing itself is present wherever there is magic. After mention of the single Homeric instance of Circe, evidence is sought in Hesiod, in the word *áyos* and its cognates, and in the occurrence of proper names of deities which are also common nouns (Themis, Hebe, Prometheus, Phobos). On these, which, as he cogently argues, are not conscious personifications, Rose has interesting things to say, as

also on the connexion between *mana* and the early use of abstract nouns.

The third, 'Concerning Images', also makes use of the concept of *mana* in an interesting inquiry into the relation, in the mind of an unsophisticated worshipper, between a statue or baetyl and the deity whom it represents. It concludes with a discussion of the ideas behind the magical use of images in later antiquity.

W. K. C. GUTHRIE

Downing College, Cambridge

J. WIGHT DUFF: *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*. Edited by A. M. DUFF. Pp. xvi+599. London: Benn, 1960. Cloth, 63s. net.

MR. A. M. DUFF, who seven years ago re-edited the first volume of his father's standard history of Latin literature (*C.R.* lxvii. 218), has now rendered a further service to students by revising the second, which was published in 1927 (*C.R.* xlii. 34) and has long been out of print. As in the earlier volume,

the bibliographies have been enlarged and brought up to date, but here they have been moved from their old place in footnotes and brought together in a comprehensive bibliography at the end of the book.

GILBERT MURRAY: *An Unfinished Autobiography*. With contributions by his friends. Pp. 225; 4 portraits. London: Allen & Unwin, 1960. Cloth, 25s. net.

MORE than half of the fragment of autobiography which Murray left is concerned with his Australian childhood (it had begun as a memoir of his father and his brother), and it ends with his period at Glasgow, which closed in 1899. The rest of the book consists of appreciations by some of his friends—among them Mrs. Isobel Henderson, Dame Sybil Thorndike, Dr. de Madariaga, and Lord Russell—of his work in his varied fields of interest, Greek teaching, the theatre, and the League of Nations.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

MNEMOSYNE

4TH SERIES, XIII (1960), FASC. I

J. Gonda, *Some Observations on Dumézil's Views of Indo-European Mythology*: criticizes D.'s *L'idéologie tripartite des Indo-Européens* (1958): D. has done good service by distinguishing three prehistoric orders, clerical, military, and 'third estate', but he is apt to overlook the possibility of parallel developments in different areas and to dismiss other theories; some of his philological interpretations are questionable. J. H. Waszink, *Tradition and Personal Achievement in Early Latin Literature*: Livy's account of the evolution of dramatic performances at Rome is based on Varro, who was trying to prove a native form by parallels from Greece, but the existence of early *satura* seems certain; Andronicus' use of archaisms in his *Odusia* reflects the impression Homer made on him;

Naevius introduced *contaminatio* for the sake of variety; a comparison with Menander (including the *Dyscolos*) shows how different from him in spirit Plautus is, whereas in tragedy there was less Romanization because there existed no Roman tradition; Ennius represents partly a continuation of Roman tradition, partly a reaction against it; Lucilius, in his fight for free speech, follows Naevius, not Ennius. R. G. G. Coleman, *Cicero De natura deorum* I 65 and the *Stoic Criticism of the Atomic Theory*: the text is sound: Cotta is merely condensing a Stoic argument against atomism from the non-existence of void. B. L. Hijmans and M. P. Forder, *De XXXII codicibus recentioribus L. A. Senecae libellum De providentia continentibus*: examine readings of these, including twelve in the Vatican (Pal., Vat.) and eleven in Paris; draw up stemmata; and comment (sometimes with doubtful prosody) on the *clausulae*.

NOTES AND NEWS

APPLICATIONS are invited from graduate students for a Michael Ventris Memorial Fund award of £100 for Mycenaean studies; they should be addressed to the Secretary, Institute of Classical Studies, 31-34 Gordon Square, London, W.C. 1, not later than 1 November 1960. Applicants should give particulars of age, qualifications, and academic record, the names of two referees, and an outline of the work which they propose to pursue; they may be asked to attend for interview. The award is payable in a single sum on 1 January 1961.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Excerpts or extracts from periodicals and collections are not included unless they are also published separately

- Acta Sessionis Ciceronianae* diebus 3-5 mensis Decembris 1957 Varsoviae habitae. Pp. 177. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960. Paper, zł. 45.
- Adrados* (F. R.) *Líricos Griegos y Yambógrafos Arcáicos*. Vol. ii: *Hiponacte, Ananio, Jenófanes, Teógnis*. Pp. 293 (mostly double). Barcelona: Ediciones Alma Mater, 1959. Cloth, 250 ptas.
- Anliker* (K.) *Prologe und Akteinteilung in Senecas Tragödien*. (Noctes Romanae, 9.) Pp. 123. Bern: Haupt, 1960. Paper, 10.80 Sw. fr.
- Argenio* (R.) *M. Pacuvio: i Frammenti dei Drammi ricostruiti e tradotti*. Pp. xv+91. Turin: Temporelli & C., 1959. Paper, L. 1,000.
- Arnaldi* (F.), *Lascu* (N.), *Lugli* (G.), *Monteverdi* (A.), *Paratore* (E.), *Vulpe* (R.) *Studi Ovidiani*. Pp. 141; 6 plates. Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1959. Paper, L. 800.
- Austin* (R. G.) *Ciceronis Pro M. Caclio Oratio*. Third edition. Pp. xxxii+180. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960. Cloth, 15s. net. [First published 1933 (C.R. xlvii. 192); 14 pp. of additional notes.]
- Bigorra* (S. M.) *César: Memoriales de la Guerra Civil*. Texto revisado y traducido. Pp. lxxviii+87 (mostly double). Barcelona: Ediciones Alma Mater, 1900. Cloth.
- Biliński* (B.) *L'antico oplito corridore di Marathona: leggenda o realtà*. (Accademia Polacca, Conferenze, fasc. 8.) Pp. 32. Rome: Signorelli, 1960. Paper.
- Bingen* (J.) *Menander: Dyscolos*. Critical edition. (Textus Minores, xxvi.) Pp. xvi+52. Leiden: Brill, 1960. Paper, fl. 5.50.
- Bloch* (R.) *The Origins of Rome*. (Ancient Peoples and Places.) Pp. 212; 60 plates, 17 figs., 5 maps. London: Thames and Hudson, 1960. Cloth, 30s. net.
- Boak* (A. E. R.), *Youtie* (H. C.) *The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the University of Michigan*. Pp. xvii+478; 7 plates. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960. Cloth, \$17.50.
- Broughton* (T. R. S.) *Supplement to The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*. Pp. v+89. New York: American Philological Association (Oxford: Blackwell), 1960. Paper, \$2.
- Brugnoli* (G.) *C. Suetoni Tranquilli reliquiae*. i: *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*. (Bibl. Scr. Gr. et Rom. Teubneriana.) Pp. xxxiii+41. Leipzig: Teubner, 1960. Cloth, DM. 3.
- Bühler* (W.) *Die Europa des Moschos*. Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar. (Hermes Einzelschriften, 13.) Pp. viii+247. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1960. Paper, DM. 22.
- Burguière* (P.) *Histoire de l'infinifit en grec*. (Études et Commentaires, xxxiii.) Pp. 236. Paris: Klincksieck, 1960. Paper, 26 fr.
- Burton-Brown* (T.) *Early Mediterranean Migrations*. An essay in archaeological interpretation. Pp. x+84; 2 plates. Manchester: University Press, 1960. Cloth, 18s. net.
- Clancy* (J. P.) *The Odes and Epodes of Horace*. A new translation. Pp. 257. Chicago: University Press (London: Cambridge University Press), 1960. Paper, 16s. net.
- Cook* (R. M.) *Greek Painted Pottery*. Pp. xxiii+391; 56 plates. London: Methuen, 1960. Cloth, 63s. net.
- Cornford* (F. M.) *Before and After Socrates*. Pp. x+113. Cambridge: University Press, 1960. Paper, 7s. 6d. net. [Reprint: first published 1932.]
- Dahlmann* (H.), *Merkelbach* (R.) (ed.) *Studien zur Textgeschichte und Textkritik*. Pp. 307. Opladen (Rheinland): Westdeutscher Verlag, 1959. Cloth, DM. 39.
- David* (M.), *Nelson* (H. L. W.) *Gai Institutionum commentarii iv mit philologischem Kommentar herausgegeben*. Text (2. Lieferung), pp. 49-96: Kommentar (2. Lieferung), pp. 177-342. Leiden: Brill, 1960. Paper, fl. 25.
- Delaunais* (M.) *Le Plan rhétorique dans l'éloquence grecque d'Homère à Démosthène*. (Académie Royale de Belgique, Mémoires, xii. 2.) Pp. xv+136. Brussels: Académie Royale, 1959. Paper, 220 B. fr.
- Diano* (G.) *Menandro: Dyskolos*. Testo e traduzione. Pp. 142. Padua: Antenore, 1960. Paper.
- Diano* (G.) *Note in margine al Dyskolos di Menandro*. Pp. 77. Padua: Antenore, 1959. Paper.
- Dicks* (D. R.) *Hipparchus: Geographical Fragments*. Edited with an introduction and commentary. Pp. xi+215. London: Athlone Press, 1960. Cloth, 45s. net.

- Dilke* (O. A. W.) *Lucani de Bello Civili* liber vii. Revised from the edition of J. P. Postgate. Pp. ix+182. Cambridge: University Press, 1960. Cloth, 12s. 6d.
- Dodds* (E. R.) *Euripides: Bacchae*. Edited with introduction and commentary. Second edition. Pp. lix+253. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960. Cloth, 21s. net.
- Ehrenberg* (V.) *The Greek State*. Pp. vii+280. Oxford: Blackwell, 1960. Cloth, 36s. net.
- Erbse* (H.) *Beiträge zur Überlieferung der Iliasscholien*. (Zetemata, Heft 24.) Pp. ix+444. Munich: Beck, 1960. Paper, DM. 38.
- Errandonea* (I.) *Sófocles: Tragedias*. Vol. i: *Edipo Rey, Edipo en Colono*. Texto revisado y traducido. Pp. xxxviii+201 (double). Barcelona: Ediciones Alma Mater, 1959. Cloth, 225 ptas.
- Études d'Archéologie Classique*: ii. (Annales de l'Est, publiées par la Fac. des Lettres de l'Univ. de Nancy, Mémoire No. 22.) Pp. 147; 39 plates. Paris: De Boccard, 1959. Paper.
- Fitts* (D.) *Aristophanes: Ladies' Day* (Thesmophoriazusae). An English version. Pp. x+134. London: Faber, 1960. Cloth, 15s. net.
- Fontenrose* (J.) *Python: a Study of Delphic Myth and its Origins*. Pp. xviii+616; 28 figs; 3 maps. Berkeley: University of California Press (London: Cambridge University Press), 1960. Cloth, 80s. net.
- Fuhrmann* (M.) *Das systematische Lehrbuch. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Wissenschaften in der Antike*. Pp. 192. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960. Paper, DM. 18.80.
- Gagnepain* (J.) *Les noms grecs en -os et en -ā: contribution à l'étude du genre en indoeuropéen*. (Études et Commentaires, xxxi.) Paris: Klincksieck, 1960. Paper, 20 fr.
- Gauthier* (R. A.), *Jolif* (J. Y.) *L'Éthique à Nicomaque*. Introduction, traduction et commentaire. Tome i, Introduction et Traduction: pp. 94*+325. Tome ii, Commentaire: pp. 990. Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1958, 1959. Paper, 240, 900 B. fr.
- Gelzer* (T.) *Der epirrhematiche Agon bei Aristophanes*. (Zetemata, Heft 23.) Pp. xiii+296. Munich: Beck, 1960. Paper, DM. 35.
- Ginner* (R.) *Gateway to the Dance*. Pp. xi+210. London: Newman Neame, 1960. Cloth, 30s. net.
- Greenidge* (A. H. J.) and *Clay* (A. M.) *Sources for Roman History, 133-70 B.C.* Second edition revised by E. W. Gray. Pp. viii+318. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960. Cloth, 21s. net.
- Guthrie* (W. K. C.) *The Greek Philosophers from Thales to Aristotle*. (Torchbooks, 1008.) Pp. 168. New York: Harper, 1960. Stiff paper, 95c. [First published, 1950: see C.R. lxx. 156.]
- Guthrie* (W. K. C.), *van Groningen* (B. A.) *Tradition and Personal Achievement in Classical Antiquity*. (Introductory and Closing Addresses at the 3rd International Congress of Classical Studies, London, 1959.) Pp. 41. London: Athlone Press, 1960. Paper, 3s. 6d. net.
- Hadas* (M.) *Hellenistic Culture: Fusion and Diffusion*. Pp. vii+324. New York: Columbia University Press (London: Oxford University Press), 1960. Cloth, 35s. net.
- Hamilton* (W.) *Plato: Gorgias*. A new translation. Pp. 149. West Drayton: Penguin Books, 1960. Paper, 3s. 6d. net.
- Hammond* (M.) *The Antonine Monarchy*. (Papers and Monographs, vol. xix.) Pp. xi+527. Rome: American Academy, 1959. Paper.
- Harder* (R.) *Kleine Schriften*. Pp. vii+519; 26 plates. Munich: Beck, 1960. Cloth, DM. 30.
- Hardwick* (M. E.) *Brevitas. Latin Constructions for Ordinary Level*. Pp. 160. London: University of London Press, 1960. Limp cloth, 6s.
- Harsh* (P. W.) *An Anthology of Roman Drama*. (Menaechni, Rudens, Adelphi, Phormio, Medea, Paedra, Thyestes.) Translated by various hands; edited with an introduction. Pp. xxxi+337. New York: Rinehart, 1960. Paper, \$1.25.
- Helmhold* (W. C.), *O'Neil* (E. N.) *Plutarch's Quotations*. (Philological Monographs, xix.) Pp. xiii+76. Baltimore: American Philological Association (Oxford: Blackwell), 1960. Cloth.
- Higham* (T. F.) *Orationes Oxonienses Selectae*. Pp. vii+108. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960. Cloth, 15s. net.
- Holwerda* (D.), *Koster* (W. J. W.), *Positano* (L. M.) *Scholia in Aristophanem, pars iv: Joannis Tzetzae Commentarii, fasc. 1: Prolegomena et Commentarius in Plutum*. Pp. cxxxviii+365. Groningen: Wolters, 1960. Cloth, fl. 75.
- Hood* (M. S. F.) *Archaeological Survey of the Knossos Area*. Pp. 24; map. London: British School at Athens, 1958. Paper, 17s. 6d. net.
- Hubert* (C.), *Pohlenz* (M.), *Drexler* (H.) *Plutarchus: Moralia*. Vol. v, fasc. 1: pp. xxxii+145; fasc. 3: pp. xiv+118. (Bibl. Ser. Gr. et Rom. Teubneriana.)

- Leipzig: Teubner, 1960. Cloth, DM. 7.40, 5.40.
- Huxley (G. L.)* Anthemius of Tralles: a Study in Later Greek Geometry. Pp. vii+62. Cambridge, Mass.: 1959. Paper.
- Kempfi (A.)* Reinholdi Heidenstenii Cancellarius sive de Dignitate et Officio Cancellarii Regni Poloniae. Pp. 66. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960. Paper, zł. 15.
- Kennedy (E. C.)* Caesar: De Bello Gallico, i. Pp. 200; 4 ill. Cambridge: University Press, 1960. Cloth, 6s.
- Kerényi (C.)* Asklepios: Archetypal Image of the Physician's Existence. Pp. xxvii+151; 58 ill. London: Thames & Hudson, 1960. Cloth, 30s. net.
- Kilburn (K.)* Lucian. With an English translation. Vol. vi. (Loeb Classical Library.) Pp. x+496. London: Heinemann, 1960. Cloth, 18s. net.
- Koch (C.)* Religio: Studien zu Kult und Glauben der Römer. (Erlanger Beiträge, vii.) Pp. xii+272. Nürnberg: Carl, 1960. Cloth, DM. 29.50.
- Korzeniewski (D.)* Die Zeit des Q. Curtius Rufus. (Frankfurt diss.) Pp. v+86. Cologne: privately printed, 1959. Paper.
- Kristeller (O.)* (ed.) Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries—Annotated Lists and Guides. Pp. xxiii+249. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1960. Paper, \$7.50.
- Lambrechts (R.)* Essai sur les magistratures des républiques étrusques. Pp. 215. Brussels: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, Palais des Académies, 1959. Paper, 200 B.fr.
- Landmann (G. P.)* Thukydides: Geschichte des peloponnesischen Krieges. Eingeleitet und übertragen. Pp. 729. Zürich: Artemis-Verlag, 1960. Cloth, 28.50 Sw. fr.
- La Penna (A.)* Scholia in Ovidi Ibin. Pp. lxiv+276. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1960. Paper, L. 3,000.
- Lévesque (P.)* Aurea catena Homeri. Une étude sur l'allégorie grecque. (Annales Littéraires de l'Univ. de Besançon, vol. 27.) Pp. 90. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1959. Paper.
- Löwen (J. H. M. M.)* Parmenides, Melissus, Gorgias: a reinterpretation of Eleatic philosophy. Pp. 207. Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1960. Paper, fl. 14.50.
- Loejoy (A. O.)* The Great Chain of Being. A Study of the History of an Idea. (Torchbooks, 1009.) Pp. x+376. New York: Harper, 1960. Stiff paper, \$1.85. [Reprint: first published, 1936.]
- Machin (M. I.)* A New Latin Composition. Pp. 160. London: Harrap, 1960. Cloth, 7s. 6d.
- Maddison (C.)* Apollo and the Nine: a History of the Ode. Pp. x+427. London: Routledge, 1960. Cloth, 40s. net.
- Marinone (N.)* Grammatica Graeca: Fonetica e Morfologia. Pp. xv+604. Milan: Principato, 1960. Paper, L. 5,000.
- Martin (J.)* T. Lucretius Carus: De Rerum Natura. Editio quarta. (Bibl. Scr. Gr. et Rom. Teubneriana.) Pp. xxvi+285. Leipzig: Teubner, 1959. Cloth, DM. 9.60.
- Meiggs (R.)* Roman Ostia. Pp. xviii+598; 41 plates, 32 figs. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960. Cloth, 84s. net.
- Mette (H. J.)* Menandros: Dyskolos. Pp. 32. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960. Paper, DM. 4.80.
- Moscatti (S.)* The Face of the Ancient Orient. Pp. xvi+326; 32 plates, map. London: Routledge, 1960. Cloth, 30s. net.
- Munding (H.)* Hesiods Erga in ihrem Verhältnis zur Ilias. Pp. viii+179. Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1959. Paper, DM. 18.50.
- Murray (G.)* Aristophanes: The Frogs. Translated into English verse with introduction and notes. Pp. xii+134. London: Allen and Unwin, 1960. Paper, 5s. net. [First published 1908.]
- Opuscula Atheniensia*, iii. (Skriver utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 4^e, vii.) Pp. 214; 30 plates, 46 figs. Lund: Gleerup, 1960. Paper, Sw. kr. 80.
- Page (D. L.)* Richard Porson. (Lecture to the Third International Congress of Classical Studies, London, 1959.) Pp. 16. London: Oxford University Press, 1960. Paper, 3s. net.
- Partington (J. R.)* A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder. Pp. xvi+381. Cambridge: Heffer, 1960. Cloth, 70s. net.
- Pépe (L.)* Per una storia della narrativa latina. Pp. 207. Naples: Armanni, 1959. Paper, L. 2,500.
- Pfeiffer (R.)* Ausgewählte Schriften. Aufsätze und Vorträge zur griechischen Dichtung und zum Humanismus. Pp. x+304; 7 plates. Munich: Beck, 1960. Cloth, DM. 28.
- Pizzani (U.)* Il problema del testo e della composizione del De rerum natura di Lucrezio. Pp. 192. Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1960. Paper, L. 1,800.
- Quincey (J. H.), Ritchie (W.), Shipp (G. P.), Treweek (A. P.)* Notes on the Dyscolos of Menander. Pp. 12. Canberra: Australian Humanities Research Council

- (London: International University Book-sellers), 1959. Paper.
- Rabbow* (P.) *Paidagogia. Die Grundlegung der abendländischen Erziehungskunst in der Sokratik.* Pp. 290. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960. Paper, DM. 34.
- Reinhardt* (K.) *Vermächtnis der Antike. Gesammelte Essays zur Philosophie und Geschichtsschreibung.* Pp. 418. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960. Cloth, DM. 23.
- Robinson* (C. A.) *Plutarch: Eight Great Lives. The Dryden translation, revised by Clough, edited with an introduction.* Pp. xviii+364. New York: Rinehart, 1960. Paper, \$1.25.
- Rowe* (A.) *Cyrenaican Expeditions of the University of Manchester, 1955-57.* Pp. xiv+34; 47 plates, 17 figs. Manchester: University Press, 1960. Cloth, 42s. net.
- Ruffel* (P.), *Soubiran* (J.) *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite de Vitruve. (Annales publ. par la Fac. des Lettres de Toulouse, ix. 3.)* Pp. 154. Toulouse: Faculté des Lettres, 1959. Paper.
- Scholfield* (A. F.) *Aelian: On Animals. With an English translation. (Loeb Classical Library.) Volume iii (Books xii-xvii).* Pp. 445. London: Heinemann, 1960. Cloth, 18s. net.
- Skutsch* (O.) *Alfred Edward Housman, 1859-1936.* Pp. 14. London: Athlone Press, 1960. Paper, 3s. 6d. net.
- Sordi* (M.) *I rapporti romano-ceriti e l'origine della civitas sine suffragio.* Pp. 188. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1960. Paper, L. 3,500.
- Spoerri* (W.) *Späthellenistische Berichte über Welt, Kultur und Götter. Untersuchungen zu Diodor von Sizilien. (Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, Heft 9.)* Pp. xvi+274. Basel: Reinhardt, 1959. Paper, 24. 75 Sw. fr.
- Szedeckzy-Kardoss* (S.) *Testimonia de Mimmermi vita et carminibus. (Acta Universitatis Szegedinensis.)* Pp. 44. Szeged: University, 1959. Paper.
- Trendall* (A. D.) *Phlyax Vases. (Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin Supplement No. 8.)* Pp. v+77; 6 plates. London: University of London Institute of Classical Studies, 1959. Paper, 10s. net.
- Ussani* (V.) *Nicolai Treveti Expositio Herculis Furentis Senecae.* Pp. xxvii+183. Rome: Edizioni dell' Ateneo, 1959. Cloth, L. 3,600.
- van Essen* (C. C.) *Précis d'histoire de l'art antique en Italie. (Collection Latomus, xlii.)* Pp. 152; 71 plates, 26 figs. Brussels: Latomus, 1960. Paper, 275 B. fr.
- Vian* (F.) *Recherches sur les Posthomerica de Quintus de Smyrne. (Études et Commentaires, xxx.)* Pp. 271. Paris: Klincksieck, 1960. Paper, 32 fr.
- Webster* (T. B. L.) *Greek Art and Literature, 700-530 B.C.* Pp. xviii+125; 6 plates. London: Methuen, 1960. Cloth, 22s. 6d. net.
- Webster* (T. B. L.) *The Birth of Modern Comedy.* Pp. 13. Canberra: Australian Humanities Research Council (London: International University Booksellers), 1959. Paper.
- Weil* (R.) *L'Archéologie de Platon. (Études et Commentaires, xxxii.)* Pp. 171. Paris: Klincksieck, 1960. Paper, 18 fr.
- Wheelwright* (P.) *Heraclitus.* Pp. ix+181. Princeton: University Press (London: Oxford University Press), 1960. Cloth, 30s. net.
- Wieacker* (F.) *Text-Stufen klassischer Juristen. (Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., 3. Folge, Nr. 45.)* Pp. 471. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960. Paper, DM. 48.

Sw. fr.
de Mi-
Univer-
Szeged:

stitute of
element
ondon:
classical

positio
ccxvii +
, 1959.

de l'art
tomus,
russels:

merica
Com-
Klinck-

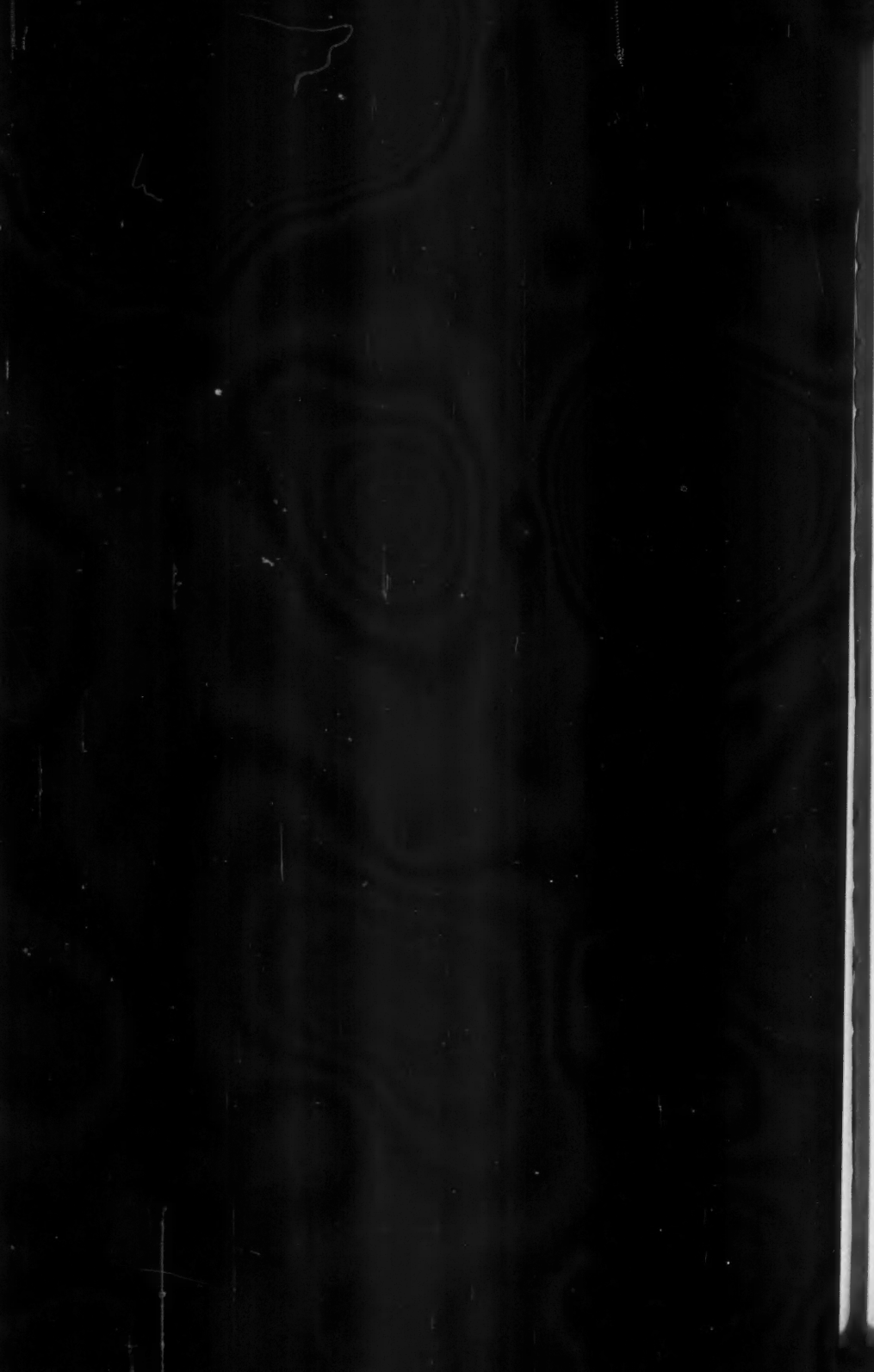
Litera-
25; 6
Cloth,

modern
stralian
ondon:
ellers),

Platon.
p. 171.
fr.

+ 181.
ondon:
Cloth,

Juri-
Göt-
r. 45.)
ck &



Continued from p. 2 of cover]

Gedicht vom Bürgerkrieg (Syndikus), E. J. KENNEY, 139; *Griechische Sprachwissenschaft*, ii (Brandenstein), D. M. JONES, 140; *Anredeformen* (Svennung), D. M. JONES, 142; *The Tongues of Italy* (Pulgram), D. M. JONES, 143; *Notions fondamentales de la pensée religieuse dans la Grèce classique* (Rudhardt), W. K. C. GUTHRIE, 145; *Le Culte de Cérès* (Le Bonniec) M. J. BOYD, 147; *Histoire et historiens dans l'antiquité* (Entretiens Hardt, iv), J. P. V. D. BALSdon, 151; *Minoica* (Sundwall Festschrift), D. M. JONES, 154; *Solone* (Masaracchia), A. R. W. HARRISON, 156; *Die Friedenspolitik des Perikles* (Dienelt), P. A. BRUNT, 157; *Epaminonda* (Fortina), H. D. WESTLAKE, 159; *L'Italia agraria sotto Traiano* (Sirago), P. J. CUFF, 161; *L'Autonomisme et christianisme dans l'Afrique romaine* (Brisson), W. H. C. FRENCH, 162; *Roman and Native in North Britain* (ed. Richmond), J. M. C. TOYNBEE, 164; *Classical Education in Britain, 1500-1900* (Clarke), D. C. C. YOUNG, 166.

Short Reviews	168
Summaries of Periodicals	180
Notes and News	180
Books Received	181

The Classical Association

The objects of the Classical Association are to promote the development and maintain the well-being of classical studies, and in particular (a) to impress upon public opinion the claim of such studies to an eminent place in the national scheme of education; (b) to improve the practice of classical teaching; (c) to encourage investigation and call attention to new discoveries; (d) to create opportunities for intercourse among lovers of classical learning.

Membership of the Association is open to men and women alike. The annual subscription is 5s. (life composition, £5. 5s.). Members receive a copy of the annual *Proceedings* of the Association. They may also obtain the *Classical Review* and *Classical Quarterly* at reduced prices (*Review* 30s., *Quarterly* 25s.; combined subscription £2. 13s.), though the reduction cannot be guaranteed unless the subscription is paid before January 31st in each year. *Greece and Rome* may be obtained for an annual subscription of 20s.

Copies of the final issue of *The Year's Work in Classical Studies* (covering the years 1945-7) and of the volume for 1939-45 can still be obtained for 6s. each from Professor L. J. D. Richardson, University College, Cardiff, who can also supply many of the pre-war back numbers at 2s. 6d. per volume, post free.

Applications for membership should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Hooker, The University, Birmingham 3. Inquiries should be sent to either of the Hon. Secretaries of the Association (Professor L. J. D. Richardson, University College, Cardiff, and Mr. T. W. Melliush, Bec School, London, S.W. 17) or to the Hon. Secretary of any one of the District Branches—viz. Aberystwyth, Bedfordshire, Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridge, Cardiff, East Anglia, Hull, Kent, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Northamptonshire, North Staffordshire, Northumberland and Durham, North Wales (Bangor), Nottingham, Oxford, Reading, Sheffield, Shrewsbury, Southampton, South-Western (Exeter), Sussex, Swansea, Tees-side, Worcester and Malvern.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY VIVIAN RIDLER
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

